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# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

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**NOTICE TO READERS**: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Announced Reductions by Pact Countries Praised

*LD3101231489 Moscow TASS Interrnational Service in Russian 1144 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—Political observer Aleksandr Kondrashov writes:

Military experts, political figures, and even historical scholars still have to ponder and study all aspects of the impact upon international development of the specific program for a unilateral reduction in their armed forces recently put forward by the USSR and its allies in the Warsaw Pact. But even now it can be said that they have introduced principally new features into the political situation in Europe.

The program for reducing the Soviet Armed Forces announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations and the similar measures by the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria during the last few days, as well as the plans for cuts in the military budget in Poland and Hungary, have demonstrated convincingly in practice the peaceful, exclusively defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact. Judging from Western press, this has now been realized, not only by realistically thinking politicians and representatives of the progressive public in the West, but also by the widest circles of the population in the West European countries, which until very recently were under the influence of a well-embedded stereotype about the threat from the East.

The measures by the USSR's allies will bring about a cardinal improvement in the general atmosphere on the eve of the talks of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on a reduction in conventional armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals which are to start at the beginning of March in accordance with the mandate of the Vienna meeting. They do, moreover, substantially advance the initial positions at the talks, eliminating beforehand many imbalances and asymmetry in the deployment and structure of the armed forces of both military-political blocs.

The measures by the socialist countries are the result of agreed and coordinated actions. But this fact does not lessen in the slightest their contribution to the cause of strengthening security and military detente. On the contrary, it convincingly shows that not only the great powers can contribute their might to this process, but also the medium-size and small states. In this connection, one should note an aspect of no small importance in the attitude of the great powers toward the natural and current aspirations of their allies. While the measures announced by the East European countries find full support and understanding on the part of the USSR, at the moment one can only hear concern coming from Washington about the growing independence of its West European allies at the moment, in that they might follow the example of the Warsaw Pact states.

Moreover, warnings, which have already become thoroughly jaded, are sounded that the peace offensive of the Warsaw Pact is aimed only at undermining the unity of the NATO countries and at taking its West European allies away from the United States. Now, as propaganda confrontation, following from military-political confrontation, is receding into the background, one does not wish to develop this theme. One can hardly reach such conclusions in all seriousness, against the background of the tens of divisions, thousands of tanks, and hundreds of combat aircraft of the Warsaw Pact armies which are being withdrawn and reduced.

It is more important to understand the attitude of the official circles of the NATO countries toward the unilateral steps of the socialist states. Reading the reports from various Western capitals, it is difficult at present to compose an integrated picture. A positive attitude is combined with skepticism and former assertions about the remaining superiority in the military potential of the East. One imagines that the leading circles of NATO, dealing with the exclusively military aspects of confronting the Warsaw Pact, have found themselves unprepared for specific displays of peacefulness and restraint. Hence, the contradictoriness of the evaluations, the evasiveness, and the tardiness. Western European countries look over their shoulders toward Washington, as the new U.S. Administration is consciously taking its time, wishing to gather experience in international affairs.

All the same, one wants to be optimistic. It is clear to the whole world that the scope of the steps taken by the socialist countries is too great to simply be dismissed. Moreover, the data published yesterday on the correlation of the numerical strength of the armed forces and weapons of the two blocs in Europe significantly complicates the positions of the zealous propagators of the theory of "overwhelming superiority of the Warsaw Pact." It is no coincidence that the issue of what kind of answer the West will give has become the leading motif in the majority of articles on this topic in the world press. One imagines that the main thing should be the removal of the imbalance in goodwill on its part. It is precisely this condition which can lead to the removal of the military imbalances in Europe.

## NATO Reaction to Pact Initiatives Noted

*LD0102065689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Commentary by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] The leadership of the North Atlantic bloc—including General Galvin, the U.S. commander in chief of NATO—has issued special statements which are highly noteworthy. On the one hand, they welcome the Warsaw Treaty Organization's publication of numerical data on the numbers of its armed forces and the quantities of its main armaments. On the other hand, NATO continues to stubbornly repeat that there is, supposedly, no military parity in Europe, and that there are still imbalances and asymmetries.

Imbalances do, of course, exist. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has an advantage in tanks, for example, while NATO has the edge in antitank missiles. We have more air defense interceptor aircraft, whereas they have more strike aircraft and combat helicopters. Against the background of roughly equal numbers of infantry, NATO has twice as many naval forces as the Warsaw Treaty Organization. In general, if you take into account all the services, there is a rough parity between the armed forces of the two blocs in Europe, which does not allow either side to count on any decisive military superiority.

In our view, though, that is not enough. It should not just be a question of eliminating the existing imbalances, but also of making substantial cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe. The Committee of Defense Ministers came out in favor of adopting urgent measures in that direction.

For our part, the matter is not confined to just pious wishes. As is known, the Soviet Union and, following its lead, other Warsaw Treaty countries have already made decisions making substantial cuts of an average of 10 percent in their armed forces and armaments over the next 2 years. We are doing this unilaterally, without waiting for similar NATO measures.

What is more, judging by the latest reports—specifically, about the most recent NATO military-scientific conference in Munich—the Atlantic bloc is still discussing plans not for reducing, but, on the contrary, for modernizing its armed forces.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that even NATO will be unable to swim against the tide for very long. It is, in my case, noteworthy that when commenting on that same Munich conference, the West German press concludes: It is becoming harder and harder for NATO to ignore the East's arms reduction initiatives, and even yesterday's hawks are obliged to face up to that.

## 'Common European Home' Concept Elaborated

*AU2901195489 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Jan 89 p 4*

[APN article 'specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' by Major General G. Batenin: "The Concept of Military Detente in Europe"]

[Text] Despite the abundance of international problems, the European political situation has occupied and still occupies a central position from the point of view of the military threat to peace. Most military analysts in the West and in the East concur that Europe is in the greatest danger of an eruption of war on account of the resources that are stockpiled here. However, it is a paradox that, until recently at any rate, these very same analysts suggested to their governments recipes for security that made the situation in Europe even more complicated. Increasing the offensive capability of the NATO bloc by expanding tactical air forces and introducing combat helicopters, and implementing military concepts like "defense at remote outposts" [obrona na wysunietych rubiezach] and "second wave attack" [atak na drugi rzut] were considered to be the only real way of eliminating the Warsaw Pact's superiority in tanks. As a result of such purely military action performed by the East and by the West under the pretext of increasing their security, the degree of nuclear confrontation, including the danger of war, rose.

Indeed, from a military-strategic point of view, civilized Europe turned into a theater of warfare, with a unique infrastructure that was prepared for war. There is no other region on earth so marked by military confrontation, so well prepared organizationally and technically, and at such combat readiness as Europe.

The political process that was initiated by the European CSCE called for the presentation of new ideas that would guarantee equal security for each country.

Such an idea was the Soviet concept of a common European home and guarantees of military detente and stabilization by seriously reducing the military potentials of both blocs. The point is not just a physical reduction in the size of weapons arsenals and in the number of armed soldiers, but also structural changes to the armed forces, in order to give them a clear defensive nature.

This concept was presented most clearly of all at the July 1988 meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, concerning negotiations with NATO on the subject of conventional armed forces and armaments reductions. This concept calls for a European disarmament process consisting of three stages. Each of these stages involves specific tasks, whose performance will increase the stability of the military-political situation in Europe.

The first stage calls for the elimination of the disparity in heavy Warsaw Pact and NATO armaments (tanks, artillery pieces with a caliber of 100 mm and more, tactical strike aircraft, and combat helicopters). In other words, this stage involves an unequal disarmament, which has always caused a negative reaction among European military circles. It seems that one possible way of avoiding this kind of reaction is to accept the idea that both sides should reduce their most glaring asymmetries—in the Warsaw Pact's case, tanks; and in NATO's case, tactical aircraft—to the same extent and at the same time. Of no less importance is that the two sides should also agree on the maximum permissible level, from the point of view of security, of such armaments that exist following the reductions.

For example, many military analysts agree that as a result of eliminating the asymmetries, each side should be left with not more than 10,000 tanks and 1,000 combat aircraft. This process may take from 5 to 10 years.

Let us be honest and say that removing the disparity in the armaments and personnel status of the Warsaw Pact and NATO is a very difficult task. There has been too much mutual misunderstanding of the geostrategic situation of both sides, as a result of which there are disparate views about the rears and flanks of the Warsaw Pact and NATO and about the size of forces and armaments. There is also a misunderstanding of the military concepts that stem from certain doctrines, which each side has been prone to assess tendentiously as "aggressive."

That is why activity aimed at increasing confidence in the military sphere between East and West is so necessary. This activity includes the establishment of above-bloc centers (or a European center, as M. Gorbachev proposed) for reducing the danger of war, introducing regular consultations—between the two blocs and between individual countries—of top-level experts on the subject of military doctrines, concepts of defense, military technologies, and so on.

The second stage of the Warsaw Pact plan to achieve a stable and safe Europe is a balanced and unequivocal, from the point of view of quantity and quality, reduction of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces and armaments. As far as numbers are concerned, a reduction of 500,000 on each side is in order. Some calculations indicate that following these two stages, there could be 3 million soldiers left in Europe (1.5 million on each side).

The second stage mainly involves a consolidation of the new military-strategic relationships between the Warsaw Pact and NATO as a result of the armed forces and armaments reductions. The dominating principle of these relationships seems to be reasonable sufficiency for defense purposes, illustrated by the defensive organizational structure and personnel level of units, a reduced infrastructure of the European theater of war, the existence of arms and military technology purely for defense purposes, the method of controlling forces, methods of organizing military retaliation, and military planning and construction. The scale of restructuring military-strategic relationships also calls for a joint major political effort to heal the situation. That is the context in which one should assess M. Gorbachev's unilateral proposal, announced at the United Nations, to reduce Soviet armed forces in Europe by 500,000 over the next 2 years, with the following simultaneous conventional forces reductions: 10,000 less tanks, 8,500 less artillery pieces, and 800 less combat aircraft. According to military experts, these reductions will comprise one-fifth of all tanks and artillery pieces possessed by the Warsaw Pact in Europe, up to 20 percent of all personnel, and a certain proportion of the air forces.

Also important is that half the reduced tanks (5,000) and one-tenth of the reduced personnel (50,000 men) are in areas close to the East-West line of military confrontation.

The machinery of the Soviet disarmament concept has been set in motion. The 1987 defense doctrine is being followed by practical steps aimed at strengthening the principle of defense sufficiency. Positive signals are also reaching us from NATO. It is essential that the ideas and steps of East and West coincide.

## U.S. Military Presence in Asia-Pacific Criticized

*OW0102050189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific 1300 GMT 24 Jan 89*

[Text] Foreign military presence in the Asia-Pacific region is an issue of utmost concern for the general public in the region. What is the meaning of maintaining many military bases in this region? Please listen to what our observer (Valerisorokin) has to say about this issue.

One cannot say the process of all-around detente in the world situation has not affected the Asia-Pacific region. It can be said with full certainty now that good prospects have appeared for the settlement of the Cambodian question. Soviet troops will soon be completely withdrawn from Afghanistan. Until recently, the relations between some Asian and Pacific countries—such as the relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, and the relations between China and Vietnam—had been tense. Now, the bilateral relations between them are improving.

However, in my opinion, in some aspects the Asia-Pacific region has remained outside the world's general course of progress for the time being. Disarmament is making progress in the world. The Soviet Union and the United States have begun to destroy their nuclear missiles, and it will not be long before they begin to destroy their chemical weapons. It is expected that the summing up documents of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation which were drawn up several days ago in Vienna will lead to concrete talks for the first time on the reduction of conventional arms on the European continent. Despite this situation, military presence in the Asia-Pacific region still remains at a considerably high level, as it has been in the past. It can be said with fairness that to reduce the level of military confrontation in the region the concerned countries have taken some steps in the past 1 or 2 years.

I am referring to the unilateral decision taken by the Soviet Union at the end of 1987 to scale down its naval exercises. It has also reduced by half the activities carried out by its navy in the Pacific. Not too long ago, the Soviet Union also announced that it will unilaterally carry out disarmament by reducing 200,000 troops in the Asian part of the Soviet Union. Such troop reductions have also been made by the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and other countries. In the meantime, however, the United States has refused to do likewise. It has refused a series of peace proposals made by the Soviet Union. These include a proposal for simultaneous dismantling of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the Soviet Navy supply depot at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. What is even more (?disturbing) is, according to a recent report, each year the military exercises and military construction projects carried out by the United States in this region are unprecedented and surpass the previous scale. Each year they are the most massive of all exercises and projects approved by the U.S. Senate. In short, U.S. military activities in the Asia-Pacific region have in fact not been reduced. The Pentagon still maintains its defense strategy in areas far from the United States. U.S. military bases in the Asia-Pacific region are precisely a major part of this strategy. At present, the United States maintains about 350 military bases and military facilities in the Asia-Pacific region. Of these, 32 are in Japan, 40 in South Korea and 11 in the Philippines. The Clark and Subic Bay military bases set up in the Philippines by the United States are the largest U.S. military bases outside of the United States itself. Former U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci said at the end of last year that the United States should continue to deploy its peripheral troops in the Asia-Pacific region. To this date the United States is still using the so-called Soviet threat to the region as a pretext for this strategic policy.

However, very few people believe this kind of argument now. For instance, some Filipino officials hold that there is absolutely no need for U.S. military bases to remain in Southeast Asia to deal with the so-called Soviet threat now that the INF Treaty has been signed by the Soviet Union and the United States. The general public in the region also firmly advocates the dismantling of U.S. bases. For instance, at an international conference of peace-loving people that was concluded last week in Manila, representatives from 19 countries in the region called for dismantling U.S. military bases in the Asia-Pacific region.

In short, for the Asia-Pacific region to move steadily toward peace and stability, it is necessary to take resolute steps to reduce the level of military confrontation in this region. By this I mean, as far as military confrontation is concerned, the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territories of the region's countries is an issue of primary importance. My dear listeners, what do you think?

## SDI, Militarization of Space Condemned

*OW0102075889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Jan 89*

[Kudrin commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, on 27 January 1967 the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and a number of other countries signed a treaty governing space exploration and development. In this connection, our station commentator Kudrin has the following comment:

One hundred and fifteen countries have signed the treaty thus far. The signatories pledged themselves not to deploy nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass killing in outer space and not to build military bases on the moon and other celestial bodies. The treaty reflected the wishes of the signatory countries to explore and use outer space in the interest and for the well-being of all countries.

Since signing the treaty, the number of agreements regulating space activities of various countries has multiplied, and a new system of international laws on outer space has come into being. The spirit of this legal code is to use outer space for peaceful purposes. However, the United States in 1983 drew up a plan for large-scale development and production of space weapons, that is, the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI]. Research has continued to date to fulfill this plan. Washington has also dragged its allies in to participate in SDI. For example, Japan has taken part in it. In addition, Japan has its own plan for the development of offensive space weapons systems. All this shows the clear threat of the militarization of outer space and the obvious need to strengthen peaceful orientation in the use of outer space and to take new, fundamental steps to protect a peaceful outer space. In his speech to the UN General Assembly toward the end of 1988, the Soviet leader pointed out: The Soviet position is well-known. Activity in space must rule out placing weapons there. This also requires a legal basis. The foundation for this already exists, that is, the 1967 treaty and other agreements. However, the need to elaborate an all-embracing regime for peaceful work in space has already come to a head, and verifying the observation of the regime would be a matter for a world space organization. We have more than once suggested establishing such a body.

In other words, while appraising highly the significance of the 1967 treaty, the Soviet Union proposes to move forward and to write into law provisions prohibiting the deployment of all weapons in outer space, including weapons of mass killing, and using an international organization for verification. Our position on this matter has widespread support around the world. Socialist countries and nonaligned countries alike are firmly opposed to the militarization of outer space. Vietnam, Korea, India, Indonesia, and other countries in Asia have appealed on many occasions for safeguards excluding nuclear weapons from outer space.

China, we all know, also condemns the militarization of outer space. It has declared its observation of the principle of using outer space for peaceful purposes. It has taken concrete steps to speed up the enactment of an international law on outer space. The positions of the Soviet Union and China on this matter are very close.

## CEMA Official Discusses EEC Ties Progress

*PM0102165389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 First Edition p 3*

[Interview with M. Marinov, deputy secretary of CEMA, by Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov, under the rubric "Horizons of Integration": "Improving the Cooperation Mechanism"—place, date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The 130th CEMA Executive Committee conference took place in Moscow 23-25 January. When it ended our correspondent, Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov asked M. Marinov, CEMA deputy secretary, to answer a few questions.

Question: What decisions were adopted at the 130th Executive Committee conference to further improve the mechanism of cooperation?

Answer: As is known, in order to formulate a complete concept for restructuring the mechanism of integration, the Executive Committee created a temporary working group comprising leading economic scientists and other specialists from our countries.

The first practical steps have already been taken in restructuring and improving the cooperation mechanism and its constituent elements. Bilateral intergovernmental agreements signed by the USSR with Bulgaria, Mongolia, Poland, and the CSSR, and also between Bulgaria and the CSSR, to use national currency in deals to exchange goods and services within the framework of direct ties are being implemented. But the implementation of these agreements is proceeding slowly, and a number of obstacles are emerging which stem primarily from insufficient coordination of national economic mechanisms.

The question of restructuring the mechanism is exceptional in its novelty and complexity. As a result, a uniform economic environment needs to be created, which would encourage, ease, and favor the implementation of extensive contacts among our countries at all levels—intergovernmental, sectorial, and intersectorial—and particularly at the level of enterprises and economic organizations.

The aim of restructuring the cooperation mechanism is to make enterprises and economic organizations the main subject of cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis. In this connection particular significance is attached to the Executive Committee's examination of further prospects for developing direct ties between enterprises, associations, and organizations in the CEMA member countries; joint enterprise activity; and the discussion of possible measures helping to increase their role in expanding specialization and cooperation in production. It was deemed necessary to increase the influence of these forms of cooperation in resolving problems of scientific and technical progress, to expand mutual trade turnover and improve its structure, and to increase the manufacture of competitive output.

I would like to stress that this is extremely complex work, since it is being carried out in conditions when there are still significant differences in our countries' national economic mechanisms and when implementation of profound economic transformations continues in many of them.

Question: Was the progress in implementing the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress examined?

Answer: Unremitting attention is being given by the sessions of the Council, the Executive Committee, and other CEMA organs to this most important question of cooperation. The Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 contains a strategy for scientific and technical cooperation in five major areas: the application of electronics in the national economy, comprehensive automation, accelerated development of nuclear power, the creation of new materials and technologies for their production and processing, and the accelerated development of biotechnology. The implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 will make it possible to promote a strategic breakthrough in science and technology, it will assist in at least doubling social labor productivity and in sharply reducing power and raw material expenditure per unit of output, and ultimately it will create conditions for raising the living standards of the CEMA countries' peoples.

Implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 has been under way for 3 years. A number of specific results have been obtained. For example, 7 robot machine-tool complexes and 12 types of automatic manipulators and industrial robots have been created; the "TOKAMAK-15," the world's largest thermonuclear fusion research installation, has been commissioned; a facility has been set up for making amorphous steel sheet down to 100 mm profile; and so on.

But all the same, the countries are still dissatisfied with the pace of implementing the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and it is a long way from scientific formulations to production. The implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 is not having the proper influence on the development of specialization and, in particular, cooperation in production.

This is why the decision was adopted at the 43d and 44th CEMA session sittings to allocate from the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and

Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 for immediate development major, targeted, science-and-production and technological projects designed to improve the revolutionary turnover in science and technology.

The progress of their implementation was discussed at the 130th Executive Committee meeting.

The list prepared by the CEMA Committee on scientific and technical cooperation includes about 15 such projects in all five priority areas of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, which have decisive significance in developing the economies of our countries and raising production to meet the highest world standards. By now work has been completed on preparing six targeted projects providing, in particular, for the creation of high-capacity equipment to produce new construction materials and products from them, including ceramics for high-efficiency motors, and the introduction of protective coatings and compounds to boost the productivity of basic agricultural crops. The development of other targeted projects continues. The preparation of appropriate agreements for implementing these projects is foreseen within the framework of coordinating national economic plans for the 1991-1995 period.

Question: Six months have passed since the signing of the CEMA-EEC Declaration. Are our hopes for stepping up foreign trade exchange justified?

Answer: The Executive Committee examined the results of the preliminary consultations with a delegation of EEC experts concerning the further development of ties between the two organizations and authorized the CEMA Secretariat to start discussing specific directions, forms, and methods of cooperation with the EEC Commission. In general, we are ready for businesslike and constructive dialogue.

We think that environmental protection, power generation, transportation, statistics, science and technology, and standardization could be possible spheres of cooperation, and seminars, symposiums, consultations, the exchange of scientists and specialists, and the organization of joint research and development could be the forms of cooperation. Joint permanent or temporary working groups of experts could be set up to elaborate specific problems.

Since the signing of the CEMA-EEC declaration, as is known, conditions have been created for developing bilateral ties between the countries of the two economic groupings. Recently a revival of contacts in this sphere has been noted, and talks are actively in progress.

As for trade, there have been a number of positive moves in this sphere. In 1987 trade turnover was around R40 billion. Of course, this amount is far from our potential, and we are optimistic in this respect.

The EEC must also be more active in meeting the development of this process halfway and eliminating a number of barriers impeding relations between our countries, including the COCOM and so-called nontariff restrictions. The CEMA member countries intend to do everything possible on their part to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with the EEC, which has not only economic but also political significance and is an important contribution to building the common European home.

## Improved Cooperation Mechanisms With EEC Sought

*PM3101162789 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview with Ye. Plakhotnyy, CEMA Secretariat adviser, by TRUD correspondent Ye. Zhurabayev, under the "Meridians Of Business Cooperation" rubric: "CEMA-EEC: Step To Meet One Another"; date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The discussion of the question of the mechanism for EEC-CEMA political cooperation occupied an important place in the Brussels session of the EEC Council of Ministers that ended its work yesterday. In a conversation with TRUD correspondent Ye. Zhurabayev, Ye. Plakhotnyy, CEMA Secretariat adviser, shared his thoughts on the significance of cooperation between the two largest international economic organizations.

[Zhurabayev] As is well-known, CEMA and EEC countries traditionally maintain bilateral trade and economic ties. Why has it become necessary to supplement these with relations at the level of the CEMA and EEC organizations themselves?

[Plakhotnyy] The two most powerful economic groupings in Europe existed for a long time as if by themselves. They may be said to have developed in two independent economic dimensions without acknowledging one another's rights in the system of international economic organizations.

On the CEMA countries' initiative, the first unofficial meeting between representatives of the two groups took place in 1973. Talks began and thus the sides acknowledged one another de facto, as it were. However, the talks broke down because of the exacerbation of the international situation in 1980 and the intractability of the partners.

However, in 1974 the "Common Market" adopted a unified trade policy and all the members' bilateral trade agreements virtually lost their juridical force. Trade policy began to be determined by the EC Commission rather than by the governments. This created a certain degree of uncertainty in CEMA-EEC economic ties.

Accretions of mistrust and sometimes even hostility, which did not accord with contemporary European realities, had to be overcome. Naturally, this involved the difficult and sometimes painful process of abandoning stereotypes in assessing the positions of partners.

Owing to the initiative of the CEMA countries, it proved possible to resolve the existing situation, which also led to the signing of the joint declaration last June. Following this, virtually all CEMA countries have established or are about to establish official friendly relations with the EEC.

[Zhurabayev] What are the main areas for CEMA-EEC collaboration?

[Plakhotnyy] CEMA has proposed cooperating with the EEC in the following eight spheres: environmental protection; standardization; transport; science and technology; power generation, including nuclear power generation; statistics; and long-term economic and scientific forecasting.

What were CEMA's reasons for proposing these priority areas? First, multilateral cooperation in these spheres accords with the interests of all the two organizations' members countries and, second, this cooperation makes it possible to resolve global problems facing mankind.

A sphere like environmental protection is indeed a source of concern for all the peoples, above all European peoples. Many scientists believe that a real threat to mankind's existence on earth has arisen today. That is why it is hard to overestimate the significance of the collective efforts that are being made to protect the atmosphere and the waters of the seas around Europe and to elaborate waste-free technologies. It is clear to everyone that the rivers flowing across Europe cannot be divided just as the atmosphere cannot be divided by national borders.

Or take the sphere of standardization. Standards are a problem within both CEMA and the EEC. Differences in standards complicate direct ties between enterprises and the export of goods to countries that make different demands of output. Obviously standards must be harmonized here, and if this is carried out on a multilateral basis it will ease considerably East-West trade exchange and even trade exchange within both organizations.

Another question is the scientific and technical revolution. The Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, the West European countries' "Eureka" program, and programs being implemented within the community framework coincide in many respects. In fact, as is well-known, CEMA countries have great scientific and technical potential and substantial fundamental research reserves. Pooling efforts within CEMA and the EEC would in many respects enable expenditure on research work to be reduced and the process of introducing state-of-the-art developments speeded up.

For instance, joint projects for high-speed railroad lines or trans-European high-speed highways, the utilization of the Rhine-Danube single system, and options for commissioning air transport and so on are possible through cooperation in the transport sphere.

The structure of trade between the socialist and Western countries has taken shape in such a way that the bulk of exports by socialist countries to the West are supplied in the form of energy sources, raw materials, and semimanufactures, while they receive machines and equipment in exchange. So-called price "scissors" developed for these goods, and a large trade balance deficit formed. Production must be retooled and new export goods created in order to overcome this. But we must not be guided by today's market for this. The goods for which there is a demand today will no longer be required in 5 years on the Western market. Long-term forecasts of the development of Western supply and demand must be studied. That is why the exchange of long-term forecasts between CEMA and the EEC is one question.

[Zhurabayev] Won't collaboration within the socialist community slacken off owing to the endeavor to develop CEMA-EEC ties?

[Plakhotnyy] I have already said that CEMA-EEC cooperation is based on their common interests.

The potential of socialist countries is considerable. The economic reforms currently being carried out in a number of socialist community countries should step up the participation of CEMA countries' industrial enterprises and associations in the international division of labor. Naturally, this process is protracted and is accompanied by great difficulties. The world market must be conquered, and it can only be conquered by output of a high quality and high technological level.

The joint declaration envisages that the sides will determine the spheres, forms, and methods of mutual cooperation through further contacts and talks. In accordance with this, preliminary consultations were held last November between CEMA and EEC experts, at which CEMA proposed the aforementioned spheres of cooperation. It was stressed that CEMA is also open to collaboration in any other spheres.

I must say that at the stage in question the "Common Market" is still not prepared to launch such cooperation. This can clearly be explained by the desire of its representatives to confine themselves at the first stage to making general comparisons of the activity and competence of both sides—which, as experience of the previous talks of 1976-1980 shows, will not produce real results.

The CEMA stance is clear. We are by no means opposed to discussing general questions. However, each side's interests in particular concrete areas of cooperation must be clearly determined.

### EEC Commission Member Views Ties With CEMA

*PM2601110189 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview with Frans Andriessen, member of the EC Commission, by correspondent An. Balebanov: "CEMA-EEC: Time For New Decisions"; date not given]

[Text] Last June two major economic organizations—CEMA and the EEC—signed a joint declaration on the establishment of official relations. SELSKAYA ZHIZN's correspondent telephoned the "Common Market" headquarters in Brussels and asked Frans Andriessen, member of the newly elected EEC Commission in charge of questions on the Community's external relations and trade policy, to answer some questions.

[Balebanov] Mr Andriessen, how do you assess the very fact that CEMA and the EEC have recognized each other?

[Andriessen] To see just one aspect—albeit the most important, economic aspect—of the bilateral agreement would be narrow-minded. The joint declaration was, above all, a great political event. This document arouses all the more satisfaction because for long years the EEC and CEMA were unable to set up elementary ties and contacts with each other and regarded each other with mistrust or even ill will.

[Balebanov] What is the state of bilateral relations today?

[Andriessen] Since the joint declaration was signed several rounds of consultations have been held to draw up specific areas, spheres, forms, and methods of cooperation. Both sides express interest in close cooperation in spheres such as standardization and statistics, the environment and long-term forecasting, power generation and transport. However, the consultations and talks will be continued, and it is still too early to sum up the results.

[Balebanov] In the old EEC Commission—the executive organ of the "Common Market"—you tackled questions of the Community's common agricultural policy. In your view, is CEMA-EEC cooperation in this sphere realistic?

[Andriessen] We are ready for very diverse spheres of cooperation, and agriculture is no exception.

[Balebanov] People in the West sometimes voice the opinion that the development of bilateral ties benefits only the CEMA countries, while the interests of the "Common Market" will supposedly be infringed....

[Andriessen] It would be naive to think that the establishment of CEMA-EEC relations benefits only the East. That is a profound delusion. The fate of many sectors of West European industry is in question because they do not have a constant sales market for their products. Access to the markets of CEMA countries is of tremendous interest to West European industrialists. It would be very profitable, for example, to export Western technology to the CEMA countries.

[Balebanov] How, then, can mutually advantageous cooperation tie in with the proscriptive COCOM lists, which limit the EEC's potential for trading modern equipment and technology with socialist countries? Does it not seem to you that the time has come to remove this anachronism too, which is a hangover from the bad "cold war" times?

[Andriessen] There are always forces in the world which advocate cooperation and others which oppose it. These are two sides of the same coin, as the saying goes. So it is no easy matter to arrange cooperation. Account must also be taken of the fact that, despite reassuring changes in the international situation, there are still substantial differences in the approaches of different EEC countries to economic cooperation with the CEMA member states. So work needs to be done first inside the EEC to eliminate these contradictions.

[Balebanov] How do you see the future of CEMA-EEC relations?

[Andriessen] We must not build "castles in the air." It is important now to be more active in developing the cooperation which has begun and to give it concrete substance.

### Greater 'Glasnost and Openness' in CEMA Promised

*PM3001134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 89 Second Edition p 7*

[Valentin Sharov "Viewpoint": "A Step Forward. Socialist Integration"]

[Text] We are growing accustomed to treating big jubilees in a businesslike fashion without going into excessive raptures and making overstated assessments. This has been the case, in particular, with the 40th anniversary of CEMA, celebrated this January. The fraternal socialist states have something of which to be proud. A great and glorious path has been covered. But sober analysis also impels us to draw other conclusions. Braking factors have also made themselves felt in our community. The programs adopted jointly in the 1970's have only been partially fulfilled.

The fraternal countries are faced with the urgent practical task of renewing the system of ties within CEMA and restructuring the mechanism for multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and also the council's activity. What was effectively a new long-term integration program took shape in 1985-1988. The working meeting of the leaders of the socialist CEMA countries' fraternal parties in November 1986 and the 43d (extraordinary) and 44th CEMA session sittings played a crucial role here. Restructuring within CEMA is keeping pace with the restructuring and renewal within the council's member countries. At present the system for economic collaboration among the socialist community states has reached a crucial point—perhaps the most significant point in CEMA's entire 40-year history.

All this evoked heightened interest in the 130th CEMA Executive Committee session, held over 3 days in Moscow. You may seek the answers to the following questions in the final communique: Do the Executive Committee's decisions accord with the requirements of the time, and do they advance economic integration? I would answer both these questions in the affirmative.

The Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000—grand in scale and revolutionary in spirit—was adopted 3 years ago. It contained approximately 100 key urgent problems alone. More than 1,500 scientific organizations and production collectives from the CEMA countries set about resolving them. Mighty potential! But at present the return is much smaller than expected.

Appraising the situation, the Executive Committee approved and attached priority to six targeted science-production and technological projects. Manpower, money, and resources will be concentrated on them. The socialist countries are preparing to make a scientific and technical breakthrough here. The projects include, inter alia, creation of a ceramic internal combustion engine; introduction of new, toughened, durable and anticorrosive coatings; and preparations to boost yields of basic agricultural crops. All these accords will be embodied in the immediate future in appropriate agreements.

An interested discussion was held regarding the further development of cooperation in the sphere of currency and finance relations between fraternal countries. CEMA members have recently been looking for effective methods of managing the international socialist market. The administrative-edict method of regulating mutual exchange has become outmoded and has exhausted its potential. Concepts like a "united socialist market" and a "customs and currency union" have entered the lexicon of CEMA countries. Questions of the convertibility of national currencies and a convertible ruble have come up on the agenda.

People have begun to realize that the creation of a new currency and finance mechanism is a crucial precondition for switching to a new system of cooperation as a whole. A. Lukanov, the Bulgarian representative who chaired the Executive Committee session, told journalists afterward that the problem under discussion was so complex that it would be unwarranted to expect concrete decisions from the Executive Committee right away. However, the debate gave a boost to speeding up the work and joint quest.

The first result of the work to develop direct ties among the enterprises, associations, and organizations of CEMA countries was summed up. Light was shed on what is impeding and preventing the broadening of these ties.

The attention of observers was drawn to the part of the communique that mentions measures to broaden glasnost and openness in CEMA activity. At the press conference held right after the end of the Executive Committee session, CEMA Secretary V. Sychev gave the following explanation: "The Executive Committee has examined in very great detail the question of the need to broaden glasnost within the work of CEMA organs. In particular, we intend for journalists to take part in sessions of the council and sessions of other CEMA organs. We intend to publish the Executive Committee's annual reports on CEMA's activity between sessions. We believe that other CEMA documents should be made more open. CEMA's doors have been opened to journalists."

There is no doubt that this step will add to the prestige and popularity of CEMA and its Executive Committee and will not only help them to popularize their programs and actions, but will also make it possible to analyze the response to CEMA's initiatives from the public in the community countries and pay more precise consideration to their wishes and needs.

## CEMA Equivalent of Multinationals Urged

*PM3101094189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview with Prof Ninel Vladimirovna Bautina by I. Nekrasov: "Guarantees of Quest: Today Is the 40th Anniversary of the Formation of CEMA"; date, place not given]

[Text] In January 1949 the representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia met in Moscow to set up a fundamentally new organization whose activity would be based on mutual aid and cooperation. On 25 January a report was published on the creation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Since then CEMA has become a powerful organization whose ranks have been joined by states from the European, Asian, and American continents. We asked Prof Ninel Vladimirovna Bautina, doctor of economic sciences, to describe the tasks that the socialist community is resolving today.

[Nekrasov] Forty years is a considerable time on the human scale. I should like to add, that it is also a time of development and maturity. But can such a conventional analogy be applied to CEMA's activity?

[Bautina] For such a complex organization as CEMA, 40 years is not an age. Human life cannot be the criterion for evaluating social processes. Let us bear in mind in that case how old the capitalist means of production and commodity-money relations are. We are talking about hundreds, even thousands of years. But, on the other hand, and this is quite natural, people want to see results in their own lifetime. And we have cause for pride here.

Let us look back and recall the initial conditions in which CEMA's present achievements were fashioned: a devastated economy, colossal war casualties, the constant threat of hunger; putting it plainly, an unparalleled situation. And when we criticize our present problems we must never forget history. CEMA has proven its viability. The socialist countries have been transformed into developed industrial states. Perhaps we got some things wrong. Our model of national economic structure was reproduced in the East European countries because at that time the Soviet experience of socialist building was the only one that existed. I do not want to be an apologist. But lessons (both positive and negative) have to be drawn from history and progress must be made.

[Nekrasov] What are the main problems facing the CEMA members today?

[Bautina] I should like to begin by saying that you cannot go on living on the successes of past years because then you inevitably begin to feed off yourself. Past mistakes must not be carried into the future. In the forties and fifties there was no great choice—the prestige of the Soviet Union's achievements was the most convincing proof. But it is necessary to constantly move forward, not to stand still. But you still often find an obsession with past successes which, unfortunately, also spreads to the cooperation sphere.

Most problems, unfortunately, went unresolved for years, which eventually turned them into a brake on further development. The trouble spots of economic cooperation sometimes made some leaders "not want to notice" them. But now, against the backdrop of such significant changes in our life as the processes of renewal and restructuring of socialism, and the spread of glasnost to the cooperation sphere, we are openly expressing our dissatisfaction. There was a frank discussion of cooperation problems at the 44th CEMA session last year.

What are those problems? First and foremost economic problems, the prime one being the extensive type of reproduction which still predominates in the majority of CEMA countries. In addition, there are the problems of scarcity, the disproportions of national economic structures, growing inflation, and increasing indebtedness to the West. And the fact that the USSR has become a net exporter of raw materials and fuel merely intensifies the adverse trends of internal economic development. The situation is not much better in the area of mutual cooperation. The proportion of high-technology output in reciprocal commodity exchanges is slight, the domestic market in a number of CEMA countries is meager, and the necessary conditions for deepening cooperation at the enterprise and association level are absent. And however deplorable it is to say this, the socialist countries are marginal in a large number of areas of world scientific and technical progress.

[Nekrasov] What is the solution to this situation? What remedies are currently being proposed for curing CEMA?

[Bautina] There is a paradox here. Despite the community of principles of socioeconomic organization and the community of ideological principles of our countries' ruling parties, in real life the economic processes in the CEMA states are poorly interlinked. And that has made access to the outside world considerably more difficult. One reason for the difficult situation which emerged is the imperfect state of our existing cooperation mechanism. It was formed over 30 years ago and served relations among the CEMA countries at the macroeconomic level mainly through the coordination of national economic plans. This mechanism corresponded to the situation existing at that time. The present has raised a more complex range of socioeconomic, scientific, and technical problems. This requires a qualitatively new approach and a restructuring of the cooperation mechanism itself in the light of the radical changes now taking place in the national economic systems of a number of socialist community countries.

A concept for the restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation is currently being developed within CEMA and the national organizations of the socialist community. Proceeding on the basis of actual conditions it is now possible to determine the outline of this new model and to plan its main directions, which must first of all remove the barriers separating the national economic complexes of socialist countries; eliminate the obstacles to direct scientific and technical cooperation, primarily at enterprise and association level; and ensure conditions for the free movement of the CEMA countries' finance, goods, services, and labor with a view to creating a single socialist market. In brief, there may be various remedies but in the present situation common sense must be preserved.

[Nekrasov] As is well-known, the joint declaration on establishment of relations between CEMA and the EEC was signed in Luxembourg 25 June 1988. How are events developing now? After all, a single market of West European countries by 1992 has been proposed.

[Bautina] One of the problem areas in CEMA's activity is its insulation from the progressive processes in the world economy. This is a very complex problem which cannot be resolved in a single day. No one in the West is waiting for us (in the form of the socialist countries' goods) with open arms. We cannot boast of the competitiveness of our output at the moment. And you can only enter the world market if you are absolutely sure that your goods will be bought, otherwise you will go bankrupt or take a loss. Such a market is vitally important for us now because we cannot go on marking time. This is the reality of our society's progress.

But, as V.I. Lenin said, you must allow for the worst in your plans and forecasts. It is necessary to understand the kind of step that we have decided to take. And if we have grasped that, we must ask ourselves the following question: How will we enter the world market? Each country or, perhaps, each enterprise on its own?

It is no secret to anyone now, that it is the multinational corporations which set the pace in the world economy. And we must quickly abandon the illusion that we are still living in a world of free enterprise. Everything has changed and our enterprises and associations will not achieve much by operating at their own risk. It is necessary to work seriously to create large international socialist associations and firms which in both efficiency and influence can compete on equal terms with the multinational corporations. Such associations and firms must have a ramified network of producers and a coordinated system of service and banking.

This opportunity must not be missed because recently the processes of improving East-West relations have materialized.

Let us not forget that nature abhors a vacuum. It is possible that some specialists and leaders are afraid of the prospect of such a restructuring. We are not ready yet, they say; let us start by creating our own market and then join the processes of the world division of labor. But if we do that the most important factor—time—will be lost.

## New Training Methods for Foreigners Profiled

*PM0102161189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by P. Tsvetov under the rubric "The Community": "Not Teaching, But Studying. Talking About the Work of the College for Socialist Countries' Leading Personnel"]

[Text] It has become a stereotype here. We find it hard to imagine an educational establishment—be it academy, institute, college, or school—without the ever-present teacher and student, didactic methods, and obligatory evaluation of knowledge of a particular subject. Somewhere deep down, among the roots of the system, there is the notion that someone (the teacher, of course) possesses the truth and someone (the student) is supposed to assimilate it. But here is an instance where this scheme is unacceptable.

Aside from Soviet citizens, thousands of representatives of Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, and Vietnam have graduation diplomas from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

The system of training and retraining cadres for other parties at CPSU scientific and educational establishments has existed for several decades and it incorporates a variety of forms, although the most widespread one has been and remains short courses for party and state apparatus personnel. It is in this area that changes are taking place at the moment.

April 1987 saw the creation of the Institute for the Exchange of Socialist Countries' Experience at the Academy of Social Sciences. The College for Socialist Countries' Leading Personnel is part of it.

"The college's main task," its chief, V.Ye. Sudbin, said, "is to generalize and disseminate the experience of party leadership front-rankers of socialist building in the Soviet Union and in other countries, as well as retraining leading party and state cadres in theoretical matters."

The college has borrowed much from the practice of past years: for example, the system of putting together groups. Each party determines the profile ("ideological," "organizational," "international," and so on) and the composition (mainly oblast-level personnel) and the duration of study (1-3 months). The academy uses this data to draw up a study program and select the lecturers. It is not as easy as it may appear to the uninitiated. Experienced institute leaders already know that one and the same professor can cause a wave of enthusiasm among one national group, yet leave another one cold. So they try to change the subject teacher depending on the country from which the students come.

But there are many new elements in the organization of the training process and methods of presenting the material. These changes were dictated by life, by the new approach to cooperation of socialist countries. It is no accident that the decision to set up the Institute for the Exchange of Socialist Countries' Experience was made after the November 1986 Moscow working meeting of the leaders of the CEMA socialist countries' fraternal parties. It was then that such principles as absolute and total equality of all fraternal parties, the right of each to independently seek ways of building socialism, and the value of the experience of the reforms being implemented in each country became generally accepted in the socialist world.

When applied to the area of interparty links, which is traditionally dealt with by the Academy of Social Sciences and which we are concerned with here, it meant that there had to be a switch from didactic accounts chiefly of CPSU history (and it was often treated as general to the theory and practice of socialist building) to an exchange of views and experience, to joint research.

Now, when at college, an effort is made to ensure that everyone—lecturers and students alike—is equally involved in the general process of seeking ways to renew socialism.

"In our institute," V.Ye. Sudbin said, "we do not use the word 'teach.' We are trying more and more to move over to methods which enable everyone—both Soviet and foreign communists—to discuss topical problems of socialist building on equal terms. To that end we concentrate more on practical scientific conferences and 'roundtables.'"

It is not only students of those national groups who are at the Academy of Social Sciences at that moment and scientists and practical experts from Moscow who are asked to attend the practical scientific conferences. Invitations are also sent to the central committees of fraternal parties. The institute has held eight conferences in 18 months. The themes of the last two—"Conditions for the Formation of a Socialist Common Market" and "Party, State, Self-Management"—are indicative of the urgency and scale of the problems raised at them.

"Roundtables" are on the timetable of practically every group. I went to one of them: "Topical Problems of Restructuring Ideological Work in the CPSU and CPCZ and Ways of Solving Them." One could feel the atmosphere of equality and commitment in the auditorium. The Soviet and Czechoslovak participants focused attention on the tasks of the activity of party workers—ideologists—at the new stage through which both parties were going. A topic, as they say, of vital importance: In the Czechoslovak group there were many ideology secretaries of CPCZ kraj committees.

Close attention is paid to the wishes of students at the college. It is borne in mind that the majority of them have individual as well as group interests. For instance, a meeting with the vice president of the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences was arranged for three comrades from the GDR group working in the agrarian sphere.

The Academy of Social Sciences' manner of working with representatives of fraternal parties has undergone a change not only in form. Lectures are different. There are no examinations either. I talked with Dusan Dorotin, deputy department head in the party building faculty at the CPCZ [as published] Central Committee Higher Party School in Bratislava. He completed an Academy of Social Sciences research studentship in 1982 and was at the Socialist Countries' Leading Cadres College in 1988. I wanted to know what changes there had been at the academy over the years. D. Dorotin's answer was brief: "There has been an obvious switch from theorizing to reality; more dialogue and less dogma."

The thing that our friends value most of all in being granted the opportunity to visit Moscow is familiarization with the experience of the restructuring that the CPSU is implementing. Many of the people I talked with stressed that they pay special attention to the methodology of our party's approach to the solution of particular tasks of socialist building. So the students particularly value the fact that at the Academy of Social Sciences this information can be obtained first-hand by listening to top-level leaders and scientists demonstrating the advantages of the new approach.

Practical work is an integral part of each group's training program. The students go to various parts of the Soviet Union to familiarize themselves with experience in situ. They return nearly always satisfied with the trip. At the same time, our friends are increasingly saying that as well as having conversations with the obkom first secretary they would like to go to primary organizations and have contact not only with party workers but with ordinary working people. No doubt the guests would like to talk as well.

It should indeed be a matter of regret to us that they are seldom given the opportunity. The situation where people at party committees confine themselves to giving an account of their own work and forget that a visit by representatives of fraternal parties can be used for the study of their experience and for an exchange of opinions on problems that concern communists means that our party workers lose out on a great deal.

Indeed, it is clear that in this case the experience of fraternal parties is theirs for the asking and they do not need to go to the ends of the earth for it. They can take it and study it. Or are we still convinced of our own exclusiveness and infallibility? Incidentally, the same thoughts occurred to me when I attended the Soviet-Czechoslovak "roundtable." It seemed strange that our side should be represented by Academy of Social Sciences professors and scientific aides. I did not see a single Soviet Academy of Social Sciences student in the hall. Why? Was it bad organization, or laziness, or did they know it all?

Out of fairness it must be said that there are examples of a different kind. The Academy of Social Sciences political economy faculty invited some German students to give an account of the activity of combines in the GDR.

Because they regard CPSU experience as particularly valuable, fraternal parties send their workers to Moscow. They study our experience. V. Sapov, PRAVDA correspondent in Ulaanbaatar, was told that every group returning from Moscow is invited to the MPRP Central Committee by supervising secretaries and department chiefs. They hold consultations on the course and make recommendations. Each student draws up a plan for the introduction of front-ranking CPSU work experience in his area.

The college knows that much still needs to be done to accomplish the tasks that have been set. More attention must be paid to the experience of friends. Only then will the college be, as it was intended to be, a laboratory for the genuine exchange of fraternal parties' experience in leading the process of the renewal of socialism.

## Perfilyev Gives News Briefing 1 February

### Afghan Pullout by 15 Feb or 'Earlier'

*LD0102140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—"The Soviet Union is prepared to continue contacts with the mujahidin, both in Islamabad and in Tehran," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

He noted that with the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops it would have been expected for there to be a turn of events towards normalization of the situation in Afghanistan. It would seem logical for the opposition to enter into dialogue with the central government. There is still time for this, Vadim Perfilyev said.

The proposal by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session to halt the supply of weapons to all warring parties beginning 1 January 1989 was an important aspect of the USSR's approach to settlement in Afghanistan. "Our readiness to do this is still valid," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed. We call upon the new U.S. Administration to look seriously at this matter in light of the withdrawal of Soviet troops which is taking place. In accordance with the Geneva accords, this will be completed by 15 February, or possibly earlier."

### 'No Grounds' for Kabul Embassy Evacuations

*LD0102144689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—The authorities in the Republic of Afghanistan scrupulously and consistently have been and are doing everything possible to insure the normal functioning of foreign missions in Kabul, stated Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, today. He named as "not having any kind of grounds" the thesis about a threat to the security of personnel at embassies in connection with the development of the situation in the country, which is being whipped up by a certain section of Western propaganda.

The reason for the hasty decisions to evacuate the embassy personnel of a number of Western countries—first and foremost the United States—from Kabul is, in the opinion of Vadim Perfilyev, an attempt to promote in the Afghan capital the creation of an atmosphere of mistrust in the lawful government and to provoke extremists into new acts of violence and terror.

Western countries have a very significant potential for influencing the opposition. The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry stressed: "It is profoundly regrettable that this potential is being used to whip up a new situation in the country, rather than for peacemaking."

### Hope for Lebanese, Iran-Iraq Settlement

*LD0102155589 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—"The Soviet Union favours the preservation of the Lebanese statehood and welcomes the Arab countries' efforts and interaction in normalising the situation in Lebanon," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at briefing here on Wednesday.

He said that the Kuwait-led commission for assistance in Lebanese settlement set up at the recent session of the League of Arab States had contacted representatives of the two current Lebanese governments.

"The Soviet Union genuinely wishes the restoration of peace, stability and national accord in Lebanon. This would, undoubtedly, improve the situation in the Middle East," Perfilyev emphasised.

He said that the Soviet Union supported the decision of the U.N. Security Council to extend the mandate of the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon for another six months. He described UNIFIL as a major stabilizing factor in Lebanon.

Touching upon the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed to some new encouraging signs in the Iran-Iraq settlement. They include Iraq's decision to open its airspace for Iran-bound flights, announced by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, as well as Iraq's acception of U.N. proposals to set up a joint military commission for monitoring ceasefire on the Iran-Iraq front.

"The Soviet Union regards these steps as confidence-building measures in the conflict's settlement and thinks that they could influence the Iran-Iraq talks and help achieve new agreements promoting peace and security in the region," Perfilyev said.

### Talks With Foreign Governments

*LD0102163889 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to West Germany on June 12 through 15 will be the first Soviet visit there at summit level in seven years, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a news briefing here Wednesday.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, recalled that during West German Premier Helmut Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union last October the two countries agreed to every kind of prerequisite for ushering in a new phase in their relationship and lend it due dynamism, scope and thrust into the future.

"This is the purpose of Mikhail Gorbachev's upcoming visit," Perfilyev told the briefing at the Foreign Ministry's press center.

Commenting on Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to the People's Republic of China, which began Wednesday, he said: "The visit opens new prospects in relations between our countries and is connected with the final stage of preparations for a meeting between the top leaders of the USSR and the PRC, who are capable of giving the requisite impulse to bring our relations completely back to normal".

The Soviet delegation, he said, has specific proposals for the summit's timeframe and will discuss them with the hosts.

Turning over then to Shevardnadze's forthcoming visit to Pakistan, the spokesman said that the agenda of his talks there will include problems of an Afghanistan settlement and other issues, in particular the state and prospects of Soviet-Pakistani relations.

Perfilyev called reporters' attention to last week's statement by the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on chemical weapons.

"In our view, this step by the DPRK Government is fully in line with the world community's desire to remove the chemical threat and facilitate an early and comprehensive convention for prohibiting and eliminating these barbarous weapons of mass annihilation.

"The Soviet Union believes that the realization of proposals made by the DPRK Foreign Ministry in its statements will help ease tension in the Korean peninsula," he said.

In connection with the 20th anniversary of relations between the Soviet Union and Peru Wednesday, the spokesman said that "Soviet-Peruvian relations develop successfully in every area. They are equal and multifaceted. Useful dialogue is maintained at government and parliament levels."

Asked about the Soviet attitude to the Polisario Front leadership's decision to unilaterally suspend actions against Moroccan troops in Western Sahara for a month from February 1, Perfilyev replied: "In our view, this is a gesture of good will on the part of the Polisario Front leadership, which fits in well with the peace process gathering momentum in the region.

"This decision should create a more favorable background for constructive dialogue between the sides concerned and for more active peace-making efforts by the U.N. secretary-general and the organization of African unity towards a political settlement of the Western Sahara problem.

"Such trends can only be welcomed," the Soviet spokesman said.

## 'Common European Home' Concept Receives Discussion

### Experiment in Constructive Cooperation

*LD0102132489 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—"The development of the disarmament process is not only a practical political task but also a scientific one," Vladimir Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said today at a meeting of the academy's Social Sciences Section.

The meeting dealing with the discussion of ways for elaborating a 'common European home' concept was attended by leading Soviet experts on international law, economists, political scientists, and diplomats.

Vitaliy Zhurkin, director of the Institute of European Studies and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed out that Soviet scientists regarded the 'common European home' notion as a "new security and cooperation system through gradually overcoming military, political and economic division of Europe and replacing it by effective and mutally-beneficial forms of coexistence, based on a balance of interests of countries with different social systems in the military, economic, humanitarian, and other fields.

Zhurkin emphasized that the 'common European home' concept was a blueprint for a huge-scale experiment for constructive cooperation between East and West in the region where the most favourable conditions for this exist at the end of the 20th century.

The scholar described the recently concluded Vienna follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as a big historically significant stride in bringing European countries and peoples closer together.

Addressing those present, Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, the leader of the Soviet delegation at the CSCE Vienna meeting, expressed the view that the increased impact of the new political thinking on international relations, their humanisation and demilitarisation played a certain role in bringing the talks to successful conclusion.

Those present at the meeting of the Social Sciences Section adopted a resolution on the elaboration of a 'common European home' concept by humanitarian scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

### Journalists' 'Dialogue' Published

*PM0102113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5*

["Dialogue" feature under the general heading "Paths to a Common Home in Europe," comprising an article by Nicholas Ashford, commentator for the London-published newspaper THE INDEPENDENT: "Britain Is Skeptical About the Concept," and an article by IZVESTIYA political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "You Cannot Acquire Security by Cutting Yourself Off"]

[Text] [Ashford article] President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly is the most serious challenge to the West since the postwar division of Europe into two opposing blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The challenge is to review the policy of superpower confrontation and create a European Continent which is no longer divided and which actually stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals. The challenge also consists in the need to do business with a Soviet leader who has captured the moral high ground from the West by proposing the achievement of a new world order "only through the quest for general human consensus."

The initial reaction of the NATO leaders was a combination of applause and caution. Mrs Thatcher, the British prime minister, welcomed the announcement of a 500,000-man reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces and of the unilateral reduction of Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. But she also warned that the West must "remain on the alert and be confident of the reliability of its defenses." Other Western leaders said that even after the announced reduction the Warsaw Pact will continue to have an appreciable military advantage over NATO. Despite this, Western public opinion, as recorded by the media, was full of enthusiasm. Gorbachev's speech was called farsighted and epoch-making. In view of this, Western leaders then also became more generous in their praise. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union's recent foreign policy actions contributed to the successful completion of the Vienna meeting and, in particular, the decision by the United States and Britain to agree to the holding of a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991.

It is a great pity, but perfectly understandable, that Mr Gorbachev, following his UN address, was forced to call off his visit to Britain because of the earthquake in Armenia. It is hoped that the visit will take place in the spring. The West needs to hear a very great deal from the Soviet leader—not only on arms reduction but also on other problems raised in his UN address, such as environmental protection, space, Third World debts, and human rights. Above all, we want to hear more about the Soviet strategy for creating a "common European home" from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is a concept about which we know little. It is viewed with a degree of skepticism, especially in Britain.

Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe expressed his view of a "single European home" in a major speech at Oxford University at the end of last year. He said: "In Western Europe the conditions already exist for a 'common European home.' Our borders are open to people and ideas. Soon they will be completely open to business as well. Our governments are governing in an atmosphere of free exchange of opinions. The European Community is a community of free nations which for many years has been seeking practical ways to establish closer contacts between people. The Soviet Union's contribution to the building of a 'common home' is quite different. It is symbolized by the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' and the 'Berlin Wall.' The cultural legacy of the East European countries has much in common with Western culture. But, since the war Western Europe has been developing rapidly, whereas Eastern Europe, under the tutelage of the Soviet Union, has slid into stagnation."

Harsh words, but Mrs Thatcher could repeat them when she meets with Mr Gorbachev.

In my view, there are several reasons for the British Government's serious distrust of the idea of building a "common home" in Europe. First, it is still unclear what the Soviet leadership means when it talks about it and about who is going to live within its "walls." Will, for example, the Americans and Canadians be in this home? The Soviet side says a great deal about "breaking down barriers" and "creating an atmosphere of trust and truth"—very laudable ideas, but very little about how these goals are to be attained. Mrs Thatcher is a realist and she seeks practical ways to solve problems. She is not interested in ideas that cannot be put into practice. Moreover, British leaders (like, indeed, other Western leaders) are secretly afraid that the Soviet Union is seeking to split the alliance between the Europeans and the Americans by stressing the "European" character of the common home.

The second reason for British uneasiness is that there is still considerable uncertainty about whether restructuring and glasnost will succeed in transforming economic and political life in the Soviet Union, as Mr Gorbachev wishes. I do not want to create the impression that we in Britain are opposed to these reforms. On the contrary, they have enormous support. As Mrs Thatcher said recently, "We very much welcome what Mr Gorbachev is trying to do in the Soviet Union." But the reforms are in their infancy and there are still many obstacles to overcome before one can confidently predict their success. And even if that happens it should be remembered that the fundamental division between the communist and capitalist systems will continue to exist in Europe in the foreseeable future. Mr Gorbachev is seeking to restructure the Marxist-Leninist system in the Soviet Union and not to cast it onto the garbage heap of history.

The third reason is that Europe remains a divided continent. Even after the commencement of the reduction of armed forces annonced by the Soviet Union, two massive armies, equipped with nuclear weapons, will continue to gaze at one another through barbed wire. It is unrealistic to expect them to lay down their arms and disperse. It will take time to achieve results at the talks on reducing conventional armaments in Europe, which are due to start in the spring.

Mrs Thatcher is seriously worried that some NATO members are prepared to relax defenses without waiting for clear signs that the Warsaw Pact really is prepared to hold talks on deep cuts in conventional armaments and liquidation of existing asymmetries. The resumption of the debate in NATO in connection with the proposed modernization of the short-range missiles located in West Germany has increased these fears. The British prime minister is a firm supporter of the "peace through strength" principle and believes that the Soviet Union was "forced" to sign the treaty with the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by NATO's decision to deploy cruise missiles and Pershing II's. According to her, "The West must be ever on the alert. For the West there is no decision more shortsighted than the unilateral reduction of the defensive effort at the first sign of peaceful relations between East and West."

The fourth reason for Britain's unease is Eastern Europe. London welcomes the changes which, as in the Soviet Union, are taking place in Hungary, Poland, and other East European countries. But there is no confidence that the process of change will be successful, and there is considerable potential for instability in Eastern Europe. Any serious outbreak of unrest in the region would inevitably have consequences for the USSR, and President Gorbachev would have to decide whether or not to resort to military interference in order to restore order. If he did resort to that his image in the West would be destroyed. Chaos in Eastern Europe serves no one's interests. As Mrs Thatcher stressed during her visit to Poland, Britain intends to stick to a clear-cut policy of encouraging the process of evolutionary changes which will satisfy people's desire for greater freedom, democracy, and material prosperity, but which will not jeopardize the USSR's legitimate security interests.

Finally, Britain is as yet far from convinced that the Soviet Union is discharging its obligations in the human rights sphere in accordance with the principles of the Helsinki agreement.

Britain welcomes the recent steps taken by the Soviet Union to free political prisoners and reunite families. But it believes that by its restrictions on emigration the Soviet Union is failing to meet generally accepted international norms.

Mrs Thatcher will tell President Gorbachev when he comes to London that there can be no "common European home" without the rights of inhabitants of the Soviet Union to travel freely where and when they want. Despite this cautious—negative, in some people's view—approach, there is a number of practical steps that can be taken to overcome the existing barriers between East and West and lay the foundation for a "common European home." The most obvious is to encourage contacts at all levels. These contacts must include meetings between ordinary people and not be confined to meetings between journalists, officials, scientists, and so forth. Such meetings create mutual understanding, which, in turn, leads to less suspicion and tension. Second, there are enormous resources for the rapid expansion of trade relations. This is already happening. One major obstacle is the nonconvertible ruble. The Soviet authorities must tackle this problem seriously. The European Community is founded on economic cooperation. It is reasonable to assume that the "common European home" could be built on a similar foundation.

Third, there must be more glasnost in matters of the military potential and a genuine desire to reduce conventional armaments and destroy chemical weapons. The Soviet Union has said it would start destroying its chemical weapons. Now the West must respond positively at the talks on chemical weapons in Geneva and at the talks on conventional armaments in Vienna. Progress at the talks on conventional armaments will only be possible if both sides demonstrate a willingness to make concessions and be more flexible than they have been over the past 15 years.

Despite the British Government's reservations, I personally believe that we stand on the threshold of a new era of friendship and cooperation in Europe. How far we will advance in the next 10 years we cannot tell. But if we approach the problems facing us realistically and pragmatically and if we strive above all to preserve the climate of trust between European peoples, then I believe future generations will be able to live in a "common European home" in which all borders will be open to people and ideas and in which the threat of war will have been destroyed forever.

[Kondrashov article] Nicholas Ashford is the foreign desk editor at the London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT, which was established comparatively recently, but has succeeded in acquiring a substantial reputation. Early last November, together with other European journalists, he attended the Moscow meeting "The Common European Home: How Journalists See It." The meeting was organized by the USSR Journalists Union and the National Press Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The Soviet concept of a "common European home" was explained by representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and the CEMA Secretariat, and others. The West European colleagues asked questions. Over the years of restructuring we have built up in the West a considerable measure of trust, but it cannot be said that it has finally outweighed the long-standing distrust. The scales are fluctuating, with life placing further weights, in the form of words and actions, rapture and prejudice, on both sides.

In his speech at the meeting Nicholas Ashford stressed approximately the same aspects as in his article. It was then that I suggested to him that he write the article for IZVESTIYA, in the belief that a frank account of the positions of the other side, of another proposed builder or inhabitant of the "common home" would not hinder, but in fact, would aid a realistic understanding of the great but difficult goal the Soviet leadership has set itself. It was after our arrangement was made that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to London was announced. This gave the author the chance to give his article a topical flavor. Then the visit was called of—because of the earthquake in Armenia. But just before the sudden cancellation M.S. Gorbachev made a speech at the United Nations which made a major impact worldwide both because of its ideas about the primacy of the universal human principle and the measures that were announced to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces.

So I have attempted an exchange of opinions with my British colleague in IZVESTIYA and in so doing have discovered that an exchange betrween journalists takes longer to organize than international politics, Soviet foreign policy at any rate, takes to develop. This very fact gives the answer (direct and indirect) to a number of Nicholas Ashford's—or, rather, the British Government's—worries because, judging by the article, the journalist has fewer of these worries than the prime minister.

But the distrust or, to put it less strongly, suspicion remains. To what is it due? The mental inertia, of course, that developed over the long years of the trench warfare of the cold war. When we automatically extend to others the current rapid pace of our life, we forget that the process of reinterpretation there, in the West, including Western Europe, is developing far more slowly than here. They do not need it so badly: After all it is we, not they, who are experiencing the thunderclaps of restructuring; they are living their normal, orderly bourgeois life, in which, by the way, a common home—the European community—has already been created in Western Europe by dint of a long period of hard work. By the end of 1992 the free movement of ideas and peoples will be supplemented by totally free movement of goods, thus completing the unification of economic processes. Is it Moscow's intention to disrupt the process of completing the already existing home in Western Europe by offering the tempting prospect of some fantastic common home? This also feeds doubts.

The complex process of the unification of Western Europe has accustomed its multinational inhabitants to sheer practicality and pragmatism. We, however, having proclaimed restructuring, have gotten carried away with conceptual ideas. They want to get their teeth into them, bite them, to find out what the filling is. Hence the inevitable questions about clarification, about specific guarantees of all manner of freedoms concerning movement from one national apartment to another. The questions are outstripping the current, initial stage. The West appears not to appreciate that they must be solved jointly, that the potential answers must be elaborated equally by both sides.

We have no intention of restructuring that which the West Europeans have already constructed. The socialist countries have their own economic integration processes strengthening our political commonality. The common home is not something that is built on cleared foundations. It is more of an extension, ensuring broad, mutually advantageous links between socialist Europe and capitalist Europe. It is a deepening of the Helsinki process. One fact is fundamental. By cutting themselves off, by turning away from one another, the two parts of the old continent will not be able to acquire the sense of security without which no home can be a happy one.

But the question of security immediately brings us to one of the most persistent errors about the Soviet concept. It is seen as an attempt to dismantle the structure, which the majority of West Europeans believe, has supported postwar peace in Europe. We are talking about the U.S. military presence. It joins the defense and fate of the United States to the defense and fate of Western Europe in the event of war and, of course, in the name of avoiding it. Is there a place for the Americans (and Canadians) in the Soviet plan? Or is it the intention to drive them out of Europe so that the Russian bear, seeing no worthy opponent, can, when it sees fit, smash all the dividing walls in the European home and in the end call it not common, but its own?

Nicholas Ashford expresses himself more tactfully, but the dramatic meaning of his fears is precisely that. A case of listening but not wanting to hear. But the Soviet position is absolutely clear: No one intends to drive the Americans out and the common home will be no less open than the Helsinki process in which the United States and Canada are involved with the European countries. The latest confirmation of the Soviet position was given by M.S. Gorbachev during his meeting with [French President] F. Mitterrand. But, of course, Thatcher will receive similar assurances. First, it is unrealistic to try to detach Western Europe from America because the link is based on a profound political-economic and military-strategic commonality which operates with the force of an instinct for self-preservation. Second, an attempted detachment would bring with it the danger of destabilization of the postwar situation in Europe. Stable military equilibrium, although at a sharply reduced level, must be maintained in the "common European home" as well— at any rate, for the foreseeable future.

The different state systems will be preserved. Mr Ashford is right: The differences between the capitalist and socialist states are fundamental. He is right again when, without obvious relish, he states: The Soviet Union does not intend to cast the "Marxist-Leninist system" onto the garbage heap of history. And anyway, promises to cast one another onto the garbage heap of history, of which both sides have been guilty in fits of pique, have proved unfounded, to put it mildly. Surely the history of the 20th century bears witness to this. And it is history that will ultimately determine the future. You cannot guess the future by trying to fit onto it the clothes of the past. This methodological error is made by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe in the arguments cited by my colleague. Moreover, his words reek of arrogance and snobbishness—not the best traits of the British character.

Britons have a high opinion of their own civilization. But have they such a low opinion of the civilization of others that they deny them rational behavior? Does their championing of the established and the conservative ascribe immutability to the motives even of those who have been on a path of rapid and complex development for 70 years? The time when the Bolsheviks proclaimed a world revolution is long gone. But, apparently, the memory of that time is better preserved in the British Isles than in the Soviet Union.

Not everyone there wants to understand the other highly significant changes either. For example, that power in Moscow has now passed for the first time to a generation of leaders who—in contrast to their predecessors—do not carry an ingrained "ultrarational" belief, resulting from the historical shock of June 1941, when Hitler so treacherously and successfully attacked the Soviet Union: that defenses must be strengthened by hook or by crook, that for the sake of readiness for war you can sacrifice what are very likely the chief assets of peacetime, everything, including the quality of the people's life. Given the absence of democracy, which implies control over state priorities on the part of the people and parliament, this excess of military elements in state policy—even with the best, peaceful intentions—turned the tasks of maintaining a proper defense capability into an aim in itself. And it sowed many fears in the West, which played into the hands of the American diehards and led to more and more rounds of the arms race.

But now we want to say goodbye to all that. We are implementing restructuring.

The restructuring theme looms large in Mr Ashford's article, as it does in the thoughts of Western politicians and observers. Restructuring is welcome—this is the predominant line. They welcome it—and they bide their time. Distrust has assumed new forms: They are expressing skepticism about the success of restructuring. Well, on the one hand, this is not suprising at all. There is much skepticism here too—we traveled for too long in the "other direction," too much needs to be restructured. It is something else that troubles me. By being cautious Britain intends to bide its time and squeeze. Yes, squeeze out some more in the way of concessions from the Soviet Union, since a peaceful international background is so vital for the internal transformations. They ask us: But what exactly were you expecting? Altruism? Not at all. Rather an understanding that even pragmatism and practicality have their reasonable limits. Beyond a certain point these properties of prudent people and nations sometimes have the opposite effect to the one that the pragmatist and practical person hopes to achieve by being cautious and biding his time. In doing so he loses his advantage.

What we are talking about is a common home, and if it is created, without haste, but without delay either, no one is likely to be worse off, and everyone could benefit. Instead of biding one's time one should get involved. Instead of adopting an aloof posture one should actively participate in a multilateral discussion that would firm up the attractive and mysterious image of the "common European home."

## International Economics of Disarmament Viewed

*PM0102091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Academician B. Ponomarev article: "From Economics of Arms to Economics of Disarmament. UN Speech: Boost to Quest and Action"]

[Text] From economics of arms to economics of disarmament—this was how M.S. Gorbachev posed the issue at the UN General Assembly session on 7 December 1988.

At the same time he reported on a significant unilateral reduction of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces and arms—which was greeted with ardent approval in all the world's countries. It was recently announced that tactical nuclear systems are being pulled out of central Europe and that the USSR military budget will be cut by 14.2 percent and production of arms and military hardware by 19.5 percent.

The meeting of representatives of CSCE participant states, which recently ended in Vienna, opens up great and good prospects in the cause of reducing arms.

The CPSU Central Committee's preelection appeal to the Soviet people in connection with the upcoming elections states: "We will persistently strive for a radical improvement in international relations and for real progress in the cause of disarmament and the transfer of military production to a peaceful footing."

The question of disarmament and of arms reduction is acquiring ever more topical significance with every passing day. First, a colossal quantity of arms, including nuclear arms, which threaten the future of all mankind, has already been accumulated in the world. Second, there is growing alarm among the peoples at the unending arms race, which takes tremendous funds away from the working people. In many Western countries there have been increased demands for a reduction in arms, particularly in response to the Soviet measures and proposals in this sphere. Many prominent politicians and statesmen and public organizations have recently advanced proposals to respond with deeds to the Soviet initiatives.

Irrefutable facts attest that military production does not promote economic growth but, on the contrary, as K. Marx once said, "in a directly economic respect this is the same as a nation throwing part of its capital into the water."

Numerous studies carried out in our country and abroad attest that conversion is not a utopia, but a real alternative to the militarization of the economy. Of course, this is no easy matter, and the reasons include the fact that demands are being made in the circles of the military-industrial complex and in the top echelons of Western countries for arms, including nuclear arms, not to be reduced but, on the contrary, modernized. One of the arguments of the opponents of disarmament is to say that a reduction in weapons production will lead to an economic crisis, increased unemployment, and so forth. The conversion of military production will be just the answer to this.

It has to be said that it will take a considerable time to draw up conversion plans and carry them out. For we have to resolve many complex questions: define types of alternative output, sources of funding, sales prospects, needs for production capacities and raw materials, requalify the work force, and so forth. At the same time corresponding plans have to be drawn up for every enterprise and every sector of production.

We know that under modern conditions the production of one kind of output, including military output, is closely linked with other production processes and enterprises. Thus conversion will require great preparatory work. It is for this that champions of disarmament—the Soviet Union, above all—call. A specific action plan was set forth at the UN General Assembly session at which the call for a shift from the economics of arms to the economics of disarmament was made. The Soviet Union is ready to draw up its own internal conversion plan and submit it to the United Nations; in 1989 to prepare by way of an experiment plans for the conversion of two or three defense enterprises; to publish its own experience of finding jobs for specialists from the military industry, as well as of utilizing equipment, buildings, and structures for civilian production.

It is desirable for all states—primarily the major military powers—to submit their own national plans on this issue to the United Nations. It would also be useful to form a group of scientists to make an in-depth analysis of conversion problems by regions and countries for a report to the UN secretary general.

The elaboration of problems relating to the conversion of military production has another aspect of considerable importance. In capitalist countries the examination of the conversion issue will objectively counter the arms race and promote the struggle for arms reduction. The attention of the people will be drawn over and over again to the colossal spending on arms, and the possibility of emerging from the impasse resulting from militarism will be shown.

For several years now many progressive, peace-loving organizations in the West—trade union organizations, above all—have been tackling questions of disarmament and production conversion. The early eighties saw the formation of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament, also known as the Dublin Committee, on whose initiative two international conferences have been held with the participation of trade union representatives from several dozen countries, including the USSR and other socialist states. Sober voices in favor of reducing arms and plans to switch industry to peaceful production have been heard at these conferences.

Starting with the slogan "No to war," we must go further and make efforts to carry out conversion in practice. The resources and means released as a result of cutting military spending could be used to resolve tasks of paramount importance. The international conference in Dublin in May 1986 adopted the appeal "For a World Economy Without an Arms Race," which states, in particular: "Despite certain differences in our views, we deem it necessary to proclaim a worldwide democratic alternative to the policy of militarism. The policy of militarizing the economy must be countered with a large-scale project to develop society's productive forces—a democratic socioeconomic alternative capable of providing millions of people with work and inspiring and uniting them."

The Soviet Union is ready to share its experience of carrying out conversion. We carried it out right after the end of the Great Patriotic War and in 1960, when the Soviet Armed Forces were reduced by 1.2 million men. The conversion of a number of enterprises was begun in 1988 as a result of realizing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The savings from the reduction in the said kind of arms amounted to R300 million last year. The plants in Votkinsk, Petropavlovsk, and Volgograd now produce such peaceful types of output as baby carriages, washing machines, and others. As foreign scientists tackling conversion problems rightly point out, the absence of private ownership of means of production and the planned running of the economy in the USSR considerably facilitate the transfer of production to a peaceful footing. The proposals which the Soviet Union advanced at the United Nations 7 December 1988 to switch from the economics of arms to the economics of disarmament give a powerful boost to all peace champions.

Under modern conditions it is of tremendous significance to popularize the proposal for conversion of military production. There are scientists and public organizations in the world who are concerned at the continuing arms race and who can prepare specific conversion proposals and forward them to the United Nations for implementation in practice.

There is every reason to believe that real plans to switch production of weapons of destruction to production of peaceful output can be drawn up under the auspices of the United Nations as the most authoritative and representative international organization. This accords with the vital interests of all countries and all peoples.

## United States & Canada

### Quayle Remarks on 'Evil' Soviets Cause 'Alarm'

*LD0202021089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2026 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] We should mention the first trip abroad by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle. He is going first to Venezuela, where he will attend the ceremony to mark the entry into office of President-elect Carlos Andres Perez. Then he will visit El Salvador. In Washington's official language it is stated that Quayle will be carrying a message of democracy and freedom to Latin America. He himself has promised to raise the issue of observing human rights in Caracas and San Salvador.

However, something else surprised observers in a speech by the young vice president. Setting off for a neighboring region, on the eve of his trip he suddenly launched attacks on the Soviet Union. At a national conference of religious broadcasters he went so far as to say that all the evil in the world comes from the Russian revolution and the fact that they do not love God there. Lenin spoke directly about this. I was quoting him there. There were the old arguments that set people's teeth on edge: the Soviet empire, the iron curtain, and the Kremlin's propaganda show of changes and democratization. Politicians in the United States are wondering with alarm what the eloquent Quayle will be saying in Venezuela and El Salvador, and whether the young, extremely conservative leader will overstep the mark there. [video shows Quayle addressing gathering of broadcasters]

### U.S. Businessmen Call for Jackson-Vanik Repeal

*LD0102125689 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] San Francisco February 1 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

It is high time the discriminatory Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 trade act was abrogated. The amendment was artifically linked with the human rights issue and adopted by U.S. Congress for the purpose of putting political pressure on the Soviet Union.

A demand for the abrogation of the amendment is being increasingly voiced by influential members of the business community on the western coast of the USA. The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce (SFCC) is now considering the question with a view to officially raising it in Congress.

The refusal under the provisions of this amendment to grant the most-favoured-nation (MFN) trading status to the Soviet Union runs counter to American interests and hinders the process of establishing American-Soviet joint ventures or giving greater scope to mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, pointed out SFCC President John Jacobs.

His opinion is that the policy of perestroyka and the large-scale peace initiatives advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, including a unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces, and the forthcoming holding of an international human rights conference in Moscow remove the most serious obstacles to the granting of the MNF trading status to the Soviet Union and make the Jackson-Vanik amendment simply absurd.

A policy involving every kind of trade sanction and economic bans for the purpose of wresting political concessions from the Soviet Union has revealed its utter insolvency has been only detrimental to the development of mutually beneficial cooperation, said Harry Orbelian, a prominent U.S. businessman and SFCC vice president, in an interview with TASS. [sentence as received]

U.S. business people, and particularly those with companies located on the west coast now show an immense interest in the proposals expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk on September 16, 1988, on the economic development of Western Siberia and the Far East.

Particularly hopeful prospects are associated with the ideas expressed by the Soviet leader on the establishment of special zones of joint enterprise in the Far East where easy-term customs tariffs and licensing of foreign economic deals and taxation would operate, with reduced payments for natural and labour resources, he emphasized.

At present, the businessman went on to say, SFCC together with the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry is busy arranging a widely representative Soviet-American economic conference scheduled to be held in San Francisco in May of this year to discuss specific matters concerning the development of trade and economic contacts between America's west coast and Western Siberia.

Major U.S. Western corporations—financial, power, building, electronic, oil and gas, transportation, and commercial, among them the Bank of America, Chevron, Bechtel, Apple computers, Intel and a whole number of others—have expressed a desire to participate in the conference.

### U.S. Decision To Reduce NATO Games 'Political'

*LD0202071289 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[Text] Washington February 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov:

The U.S. Defense Department has decided to scale down NATO's major military exercises in Western Europe. In a statement circulated on Wednesday the Pentagon said that the annual exercises, codenamed Reforger, planned to be held in September this year, will not take place. Instead, they will be held between January and March 1990, and involve 20,000 NATO servicemen less than last year.

The decision was taken to make U.S. exercises in Europe more efficient and to enhance American Army combat readiness. Instead of the Reforger exercises the NATO plans in 1989 lesser exercises codenamed Caravan Guard.

In an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency a Pentagon spokmesman said that the decision's aim is to enhance exercise efficiency. Clearly another aim is to bring down the heat of political debates in West Germany. This decision acknowledges the growing peace sentiments in West Germany and a number of other NATO West European countries where numerous U.S. military exercises and NATO plans to modernise nuclear weapons encounter strong popular opposition.

The AP news agency cites another Pentagon representative as saying that the Reforger exercise decision was made in the light of wide support for the USSR's new foreign policy initiatives in West European countries.

### Canadian Defense Minister Cited on Military Ties

*PM0102143589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "In Favor of Contacts With the USSR"]

[Text] Ottawa, 30 Jan—Canada is ready to step up contacts in the military sphere and cooperation with the Soviet Union, P. Beatty, Canadian minister of national defense, stated here at the annual conference of members of the association on defense problems. To this end, the minister reported, he had made arrangements to start talks with the Soviet side about organizing mutual visits by officers of the two countries' armed forces. As soon as the Soviet forces are withdrawn from Afghanistan, Canada will renew the accord on visits by Canadian and Soviet warships to each other's ports. There are also prospects for stepping up cooperation between the Canadian and Soviet armed forces as partners in peacekeeping efforts, P. Beatty stated.

The minister also proposed that the Soviet Union send its representatives to inspect Canadian laboratories where chemical weapon protection means are being developed. These representatives, he said, could witness the elimination of 18 tonnes of chemical combat ammunition left over in Canada from the 1940's. According to the military department chief, the existing agreement on extending cooperation in operations to search for and rescue shipwrecked sailors could be expanded.

These measures, the minister noted, are directed at "improving relations between our country and the Soviet Union and reducing international tension." The head of the military department stated, at the same time, that Canada and its NATO allies must maintain vigilance from the military standpoint, despite signs testifying to Moscow's readiness to hold talks on reducing conventional and nuclear weapons.

## China

### Shevardnadze Travels to PRC for Official Visit

#### Arrives, Met by Qian Qichen

*LD0102143489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1401 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Beijing, 1 February. (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived in the PRC today on an official visit.

At Beijing's Shoudu airport he was met by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, and other officials. Among the welcoming party was Oleg Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC.

On his arrival, Eduard Shevardnadze made a statement to the local and foreign press.

#### Moscow Television Covers Arrival

*LD0102225389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent Vladimir Kulikov in Beijing]

[Text] Talks on questions of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will open in Beijing tomorrow. For the first time in the last 30 years, our country's foreign minister will be in the PRC in order to continue the dialogue on the questions of normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, which commenced at the end of last year in Moscow.

China is awaiting Comrade Shevardnadze's visit with great interest and links with it the further normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified passer-by in Chinese with superimposed Russian translation] We knew about Comrade Shevardnadze's visit beforehand. I think that this is an important step in the further normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. Of late, these relations have been successfuly developing in many spheres—in the economy, trade and culture. We Chinese citizens warmly welcome this development of events.

[Unidentified passer-by] (?You know), I send greetings to the Soviet people. [end recording]

The Chinese press writes a lot these days about various aspects of Sino-Soviet relations. It is being noted that the impending summit meeting represents one of the key questions which will be discussed in Beijing during the meeting of the ministers. The Soviet-Chinese summit dialogue transcends the framework of bilateral relations between our states and represents an example of the new thinking in international politics. There is every reason to believe that the coming summit meeting will be a major political event of the year. After all, it concerns the establishment of qualitatively new relations between two mighty socialist countries.

It was not by accident that the visit to Beijing by Comrade Shevardnadze attracted the attention of the world's press. Hundreds of correspondents from many countries arrived here. At Beijing airport, where Comrade Shevardnadze and his entourage arrived, he was met by PRC foreign minister Comrade Qian Qichen and by other officials. Comrade Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to China, was present at the airport. [video shows Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen shaking hands]

After his arrival in Beijing Comrade Shevardnadze emphasized that he is stepping on Chinese soil filled with good expectations and great hopes.

### Shevardnadze-Qian Qichen Talks Open

*LD0202034689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0305 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[Text] Beijing, 2 Feb (TASS)—Official talks began today in the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives [as received] between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Before beginning the talks, the two leaders stressed that the talks in Beijing are a continuation of the constructive dialogue which was begun in Moscow last December.

The ministers indicated that the necessary preparatory work will be done during the talks for holding a Soviet-Chinese summit.

### International Impact Noted

*LD0102225689 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] According to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze a major goal of his present official visit to China is to finalize preparations for a Sino-Soviet summit meeting. Aleksander Pogodin comments:

Just a few years ago such plans would have been simply impossible because the contradictions that had accumulated between the two countries in recent decades were too great. Even today there are diferences between them on a number of bilateral issues and international problems. However, what determines the basic trend in Sino-Soviet relations today is not differences, but the mutual striving to bring these relations back to normal and overcome the unnatural alienation between the two neighboring socialist nations.

It is expected that Sino-Soviet summit meetings will resume in the first half of this year with the visit to China by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet side believes that his visit must bring about important practical results. This relates to the documents that might be signed during the visit and to endeavors to work out principles of bilateral relations. Naturally, all these questions were included on the agenda of tentative discussions to be held in Beijing by Eduard Shevardnadze. It should be noted that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations cannot entail a threat to the interests of third countries. The idea of playing either the Soviet or the China card is absolutely untenable.

An improvement in bilateral ties is expected to be beneficial not only to the Soviet and Chinese people. It will be conducive to improving the political climate in Asia, in the Pacific, and in the world at large. It's reassuring to compare the stands taken by the two countries in a number of crucial international problems. For instance, the Soviet Union and China stand for eliminating all nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction and for preventing space from being militarized. They not only call for substantial cuts in conventional arms and troops, but also take practical steps in this direction. Witness China's reducing its Army by 1 million men and the Soviet Union's intention to cut its Armed Forces by 500,000 troops. It's noteworthy that the USSR and China have narrowed their differences over regional conflicts. All this makes it possible to conclude that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations can and must become an important factor for broader international cooperation in efforts to strengthen peace and security.

### For Peace in Asia-Pacific Region

*OW0102201189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Commentary by station observer Ivanov: "New Stage in Soviet-Chinese Relations"]

[Text] Dear listeners, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Beijing, beginning on 2 February, will evidently put an finishing touch on the preparations for the meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping. People link the arrival of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations with this meeting scheduled to be held in the first half of this year. How will the relations between the Soviet Union and China be? Ivanov, an observer of this station, has the following comments:

It is very clear that Soviet-Chinese relations can only be founded on the reality of the contemporary era. We should know that the present world is far from being the same as 30 or 40 years ago. In the last several years, the relations between our two countries have been developing in the direction of good-neighborliness, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and effective cooperation for mutual benefits. Of course, we expect the relations to develop further.

It is also very clear that the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations must not affect the interests of any third country, nor create obstacles to the relations between them and their allies or friends. Both China and the Soviet Union have their own priorities in their foreign policies, their own international obligations, and their own special interests. Neither side will encroach on these fields of the other side, just as the leaders of the two countries have said.

Shevardnadze has said: To enhance the ties between us is for the purpose of fully realizing the aspirations of the Soviet people and the Chinese people and strengthening peace and security in the world.

We must see that the foreign policy concepts of the Soviet Union and China and their attitudes toward the most important issues at present are either identical or similar. There is still great potential for the two great socialist countries in settling global issues. I think that our two countries will be able to more actively eliminate misunderstandings with regard to such issues as the prevention of nuclear and ecological calamities, restoration of peace and justice, and the reduction of military confrontation in hot spots in the world, as well as the promotion of trust and security.

The Asia-Pacific regional issues are one example. We know and welcome China's statement on its willingness to cooperate with other countries in the region in turning the Pacific Ocean into an ocean of peace, friendship, and cooperation. Isn't the Soviet Union striving for the same goal?

In as early as in July 1986, Gorbachev expressed our country's interest in the Asia-Pacific region, and emphasized that our interest is not an attempt to seek certain special privileges. He said: We think that our interest lies in making joint efforts to promote cooperation while fully respecting the rights of the peoples of all countries to live according to their own choices and to solve their problems under peaceful conditions.

Gorbachev emphasized: We stand for joint efforts to establish new and fair relations in the Asia-Pacific region.

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### World Press Appraises Visit

*OW0102183989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1210 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valentin Dvinin]

[Text] Hello comrades. Presently, international life is being characterized by a high level of diplomatic activity, various international conferences, and visits by statesmen. Today the attention of the world mass media is centered on at least three such visits: The visit by Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, to China, which begins tomorrow; Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita's visit to the United States; and the talks between French President Mitterrand, who arrived in Delhi today, with the Indian leadership.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, which has been published by our press, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze formulated the goals and significance of his trip in some detail. I will therefore limit myself to the appraisals voiced by the foreign press which, by the way, are remarkably similar, regardless of whether they were published in socialist, capitalist, or developing countries. The Yugoslav BORBA, for example, notes today that the visit of the Soviet minister of foreign affairs to China signifies a new, and an exceptionally important, chapter in the relations of the two countries. In the opinion of India's PATRIOT, the process of normalization between the two communist giants has at last entered its final stage. London's TIMES feels that the thaw in the Moscow-Beijing relations has already led to noticeable changes in international affairs.

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### World's Attention 'Riveted'

*LD0202020289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[From the "International Diary" program; presented by Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Text] [Patsyuk] Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in the PRC today on an official visit. He is to meet his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen. The two ministers will continue the talks that they began in Moscow on preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit and will also exchange views on other questions of interest to the two sides. The itinerary for the visit provides for conversations between Comrade Shevardnadze and Chinese leaders. It is reported from Beijing that the PRC's central press organs have been emphasizing that the importance of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue goes far beyond the framework of bilateral relations and is an integral part of the worldwide trend toward peace and development. I will hand over the microphone to our commentator Boris Andrianov. Please carry on!

[Andrianov] I do not think I would be exaggerating in saying that the attention of the world is riveted on Comrade Shevardnadze's arrival in Beijing. This is understandable, because the return visit by our country's foreign minister to China means that in point of fact preparations are nearing completion for the Soviet-Chinese summit. Therefore, an event that can give the necessary momentum to a full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is not far off. Raising these relations to a new level will no doubt also have a positive influence on the entire international situation as a whole. When two such major powers as the Soviet Union and China are normalizing their relations and starting to cooperate constructively, the positive result of this process cannot be limited to the national confines of the two countries.

It is quite obvious that in recent years there have been marked favorable changes in our relations with China in practically all spheres. Contacts at the governmental, parliamentary, and public levels have become more widespread. Bilateral political consultations are being held regularly. The talks on a border settlement have reached a new stage. Trade is increasing and there has been development in economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation. In my view, this healthy process is a reflection and a result of the striving by the leaderships of the two countries to achieve a positive evolution in Soviet-Chinese relations, clearing aside the accretions of the past and overcoming current difficulties. The joint efforts of the Soviet Union and China in this direction are also being determined by the logic of developing multifaceted cooperation between the two socialist states. This prompts the need to foster the organization of a full-scale Soviet-Chinese political dialogue historically oriented on friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between our countries. There are weighty grounds for such an orientation. It is facilitated by favorable factors. After all, despite all the changes in the political weather, friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation have remained unchanging values in the spiritual attraction between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. All this confirms the fact that the return of our bilateral relations to a normal channel has become an urgent need.

We also cannot overlook a further factor testifying to the favorable development in Soviet-Chinese relations. The essence of it is that our two great peoples are now travelling the path of transformations and reforms. It is precisely the need for internal renewal that is dictating the joint striving for a full normalization of bilateral relations, thereby creating a favorable situation for this. It is no secret that, despite all the differences in specific conditions, the processes of restructuring and modernization taking place in the Soviet Union and China have much in common. This redoubles the point of contact between the two countries. There is more and more goodwill and trust in relations between our peoples. Their profound interest in each other is being renewed and supplemented with new content. This trend is, I think, being strengthened by a realization that there are no contradictions between the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, while our cooperation has good opportunities for creating the living fabric of relations of peace, friendship, and good-neighborliness.

In pursuing full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations it is now necessary to base them on contemporary realities. After all, the world is now by no means the same as it was 3 or 4 decades ago. In other words, it is important not to look at the past but to look ahead in order to clearly see the prospects for our mutual relations with China at a new historical stage.

## Past Relations 'Abnormal'

*OW0202060589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will begin his official visit to China on 2 February. Station observer Alekseyev writes in this connection:

I think that the exchange of such visits between the two countries has been of particular significance in recent decades. In recent years we have gradually reached the point where no one can doubt that the Soviet Union and China are sincerely pursuing a further development of their comprehensive [quanmian di] political dialogue in order to make preparations for a meeting [huiwu] between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping. A decision to hold this meeting was made when Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited Moscow last December. Moscow and Beijing believe that this summit meeting [gaoji huiwu] can be held in the first half of this year. Shevardnadze's visit to China, which starts on 2 February, will constitute a new milestone in leading to the above important event. I am convinced that in February, new prospects will be opened up for the development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

We, the Soviet people, feel that the period during which our two countries were estranged and the relations between us were strained was an abnormal phenomenon in history. I understand that Moscow and Beijing hold identical views on this. Both the Soviet Union and China have drawn lessons from this. I believe this constitutes a guarantee for Soviet-Chinese relations. A characteristic of close Soviet-Chinese relations is that the two countries approach [jiejin] each other. This will ensure long-term stability. We hope that the relations between the two countries will enter a new period.

We do not want to have Soviet-Chinese relations return to their status of the 1950's, as the West has recently said. The Soviet Union wants to establish relations [jianli lianxi] with China on the basis of the latter's long-tested and internationally accepted five principles of peaceful coexistence. We hold that the Soviet Union and China should approach each other without detriment to either's relations with third countries, such as Vietnam, the United States, and any other countries, or to their interests. We are satisfied that China holds identical views in this regard.

It is now necessary to further expand cooperation beneficial to both sides. Both the Soviet Union and China are reforming their economic, political, and social structures on a large scale. [Words indistinct] the two countries hold identical or similar views on extremely important issues of today. For example, our two countries hope that international relations will transform from confrontation to dialogue and from tension to detente more quickly. This will create conditions for extensive international cooperation. Undoubtedly, cooperation between the two countries will be a (?positive) factor for sound development of the situation in this region and other parts of the world.

### World 'Eagerly Expecting' Results

*OW0202063789 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] On 2 February, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze began his official visit to China. Our station reporter (Soladin) comments:

A major event took place in Soviet-Chinese relations during the last month of 1988. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen paid an official visit to Moscow for the third time. The meeting held in the Soviet capital attracted worldwide attention. Chinese news media has listed Qian's visit to Moscow as one of the 10 major news topics of 1988. Qian Qichen's visit to Moscow and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's return visit to Beijing are major events in bilateral relations. However, the whole world regards these visits as a prelude to the summit which will soon be held.

One year has passed since the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations became a daily agenda item. There is ample reason to believe that in the past year, bilateral relations have started to normalize. Trade and economic relations between the two countries are being smoothly developed. A new border situation has prevailed. Border talks and political consultations are also under way.

However, only the summit meeting between the leaders of the two countries can help Soviet-Chinese relations enter the stage of normalization. Only when the two leaders meet can we achieve the aspirations of the peoples of the two countries [words indistinct]. Our two countries do not expect to restore relations that existed 30 years ago. There is no need to do so, nor is it possible to do so.

The two sides have time and again pointed out that in promoting bilateral relations, both countries must take the current situation into consideration. Tremendous changes have taken place in the two countries and in the whole world over the past 30 years. One thing is certain—the situation in which Soviet-Chinese relations are not completely normalized can no longer satisfy the people. The Soviet people wholeheartedly hope that Soviet-Chinese relations will be normalized as soon as possible. Those who are directly connected with China have shown particular interest in this connection.

When Titarenko, chairman of the USSR Association of Sinologists, was asked about his hope for the new year, he replied: I sincerely hope that Soviet-Chinese relations will be completely normalized in the new year and that Soviet leader Gorbachev's visit to China will be a complete success. I believe that deepening understanding and establishing good-neighborliness between the Soviet Union and China will be a major world event.

I entirely agree with Titarenko's view. The complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will not only affect the two countries but will also draw a favorable response from the world. When PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited the Soviet Union in December last year, he repeated that the two countries have extremely similar or identical approaches on some key contemporary issues. Therefore, the general public of the world is eagerly expecting the results of the joint statement of the Soviet-Chinese summit and the contributions which two countries will make in solving global problems such as preventing nuclear and ecological disasters, reducing military activities, ensuring overall security, eliminating regional conflicts, and establishing a new international political and economic order. I believe that reason will overcome the fear about the so-called alliance of the major communist powers. Following changes in the world situation, such fears will be completely eliminated.

### Further Reportage of Shevardnadze's PRC Visit

For further reportage of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to the PRC, see the Soviet Union section of the 1 February China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

### PRAVDA Commends China's Foreign Policy

*OW0102063189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 29 Jan 89*

[Text] The Soviet paper PRAVDA said that the evolution of China's foreign policy in the recent 10 years makes people feel optimistic. The paper noted that, by proceeding from its constructive position today, China is exploring a way to coexist with other countries that is acceptable to both sides. The PRAVDA held that the theory of new international order advocated by Beijing is in fact akin to the basic principle of Soviet foreign policy and in accord with the spirit of new thinking.

### Television Panel Reviews PRC Reforms, Socialism

*OW0202034289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0545 GMT 30 Jan 89*

["China: 10 Years of Reforms; Meeting with the Editorial Staff of the Journal PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA," moderated by Vladimir Tsvetov, political observer of Soviet Television—live or recorded]

[Text] [Tsvetov] Hello, comrades. Today at our roundtable we have members of the staff and contributing authors of the journal PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA. They are Yang Iming, assistant professor at the Beijing Institute of Economic Management and a people's deputy from Beijing City; Vladilen Borisovich Vorontsov, doctor of historical sciences and chief editor of PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA; Anatoliy Pavlovich Morozov, deputy director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and, of course, a member of the journal's editorial staff; and Aleksandr Grigoryevich Yakovlev, a staff member of the Far East Institute and doctor of historical sciences.

In my opinion the journal PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA has become one of the most interesting scientific social and political publications today. Despite its somewhat dry name the journal is nevertheless able to satisfy an interest in the Far East among the broadest range of readers. At the same time it does not avoid deep scientific analysis and well-reasoned assessments. I would like to name a number of articles, for example, that will be published in the first issue for 1989.

First there will be a serious analysis of the international meeting in Vladivostok, which as you know was held under the slogan: The Asian-Pacific region—dialogue, peace, cooperation. Then some surprisingly interesting assessments, in my opinion, of the theory and practice of socialist construction in China will be published. Readers will find a comparison in this issue of political reforms here and in the PRC. It will carry the reports of eyewitnesses on talks in Moscow between Stalin and Mao Zedong. Of course, readers will find a truly sensational story about former Taiwan President Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's son, who apparently was a member of the VKP(B) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] and took part in the construction of the Uralmash plant. People who like to measure time according to the Eastern calendar will find something to read, while people who are ikebana enthusiasts will find much that is new about this rather unique art.

I should add that the leading Soviet specialists on China, the leading Soviet sinologists, have banded around this journal. So naturally we have invited the staff and writers of precisely this journal to take part in the roundtable devoted to the topic: The PRC—10 years of reforms.

So let us begin with economics. Engels said that economic conditions ultimately stipulate historic development. Now if we take the statistics of the PRC, statistics for this year, we find that annual national income increased in the country by 11 percent in a year, industrial production output increased 18 percent, and labor productivity by 9 percent. At the same time the inflation level is more than 17 percent. There has been a rapid increase in prices, and the structure of the national economy has deteriorated. So a question arises: Are there more successes or more problems as a result of the Chinese economic reforms?

I do not think the men will object if we give our guest Yang Iming the opportunity to speak first.

[Yang] Very well. I have been very fortunate, I think, to be one of the first Chinese authors to contribute to the journal PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA. So, a few words about our reforms. The reform began in China 10 years ago, in other words after the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee that was held in December 1978. During those 10 years I think colossal changes have occurred in China. Social production developed rapidly, and during this period Gross National Product and the state's financial income doubled. Generally the average income of urban and rural people also doubled. So for the first time in the history of China its population of a billion people has been satisfied with food and clothing. This was no easy task.

Market supplies have improved a great deal. In general, the durable goods shortage, that is, the acute shortage of consumer goods, is over. For example, in the past we had lines everywhere. One day there is no soap, the next day there is no sugar. You know, in the past these goods were even displayed in shop windows as exhibits. They were not sold. Now there is a very large selection available on the market and in the shops.

[Tsvetov] Yang Iming, forgive me for interrupting. These are no doubt major achievements, and we are fully aware of this. These are significant achievements to be sure, but there was a reason why China achieved these successes. Where did China begin?

[Yang] As is well known, our reform started first of all in the villages. That was 10 years ago. A system of family contract was established. Presently, 180 million Chinese families have taken this up. This figure represents 98 percent of the total rural population. Following this, in 1985 the decision that surpluses should be centrally purchased was repealed. That means that the state stopped giving plan directives to the peasants. Instead, agreements and contracts were made with them. Following, this, the state purchases the produce at contracted prices. This way the rural economy has gradually changed over to the so-called planned market production [planovoye tovarnoye proizvodstvo].

[Tsvetov] Could you tell us about reforms in the industrial area?

[Yang] Yes. This began in October 1984, when the country embarked on overall reforms with the main emphasis on the city. The central point of these reforms in the cities was to increase the vital activities of enterprises. Over the past years it has been established that enterprises are relatively independent commodity producing entities. That means that these enterprises must have the following rights: the right to plan production, the right to distribute earnings and bonuses, financial rights, and the right to determine prices. There are others, such as the right to enter into economic cooperation. Presently, according to the latest figures, more than 86 percent of budgetary enterprises are working on the contract system of economic responsibility or on the leasing system. This has a very great significance because this stimulates among the workers and salaried people an interest in the end result of their labor. This, in turn, raises production efficiency. Therefore, figuratively speaking, we no longer have wage leveling. We put it this way: we have shattered the three iron objects—the iron cup, the iron chair—referring to position—and the iron paycheck. These are the three iron objects.

[Tsvetov] By the iron cup you mean a rice bowl.

[Yang] Yes.

[Vorontsov] The symbol of wage leveling.

[Yang] Yes.

[Vorontsov] I would like to ask the first question. I feel that both in our country and in China there are those who support reforms and those who oppose it. The supporters of reforms can find many examples within the Chinese reforms in support of their case. The reform movement and the level of its dynamism is high. If we were to speak of labor productivity then a 51 percent increase in 10 years is an unheard of achievement. If we take the per capita income, then it rose from $250 to $400. It is projected that the income will reach $1,000. Admittedly, these figures are relative. In Taiwan, this figure has already been reached. All this is for the supporters. The supporters can find much in the increased standard of living and in the fact that lines are no longer to be found on the streets of Beijing to support their argument. However, the opponents can also find things to support their argument. The opponents can see inflation, and they see a rapid increase not only in light industry products, but can they even point to price increases charged in medical facilities. They can find that there is a social and property disparity. They see all of this.

But if we look at what is most important, it seems to me the main thing is that there has been a rejuvenation of China. China is no longer the same. The dynamic nature of China's development is obvious to the whole world, and it is quite obvious to the whole world that China has progressed.

[Tsvetov] But we have stopped here—excuse me for interrupting—on a number of negative aspects of the reforms, such as the growth of inflation, price increases, and a weakening of the central government's means to determine economic controls. In other words these problems exist. What do the Chinese leaders see as a solution to these problems?

[Yakovlev] The first thing they are trying to do is prevent these problems from becoming particularly acute, and primarily this concerns the problem of inflation. As you have correctly noted, inflation can destroy any good undertaking, any reform. I say frankly that the enthusiasm that the Chinese population experienced over the reforms, to the very grassroots level, began to wane as soon as the prices began to rise in the markets. In fact the wages cannot keep up with this; the wages are minimal. So I think that the Chinese leadership is now concentrating on the problem of struggling with inflation. This can be seen in statements on the economy overheating, on the need to suspend capital construction. They are presently suspending or closing down a large number of projects and transferring the labor force to the completion of a relatively small number of construction projects.

[Tsvetov] We have approached a very major and painful problem—the problem of price reforms. I think it would not be incorrect to say that price reforms are an obstacle capable of destroying any socialist government. Now what plans are being made, or what direction are the ideas of Chinese scientists and leaders taking in the sphere of price reforms?

[Yang] I would like to say a few words. I think that we began reforms of the political system since October 1987. Along with a strengthening of the reforms and an increase in the activities of enterprises we began a reform of prices and wages. During the price reforms the government attempted to ensure that the real living standards of the majority of workers and employees were not decreased by increasing and regulating the rate of wages and paying corresponding subsidies to the urban population.

As you all know, price reform is the most difficult issue, but our China is presently experiencing this period, and you know from the latest press reports that in recent months the retail price increase index went up by 16 percent. Of course, this is a very large increase. At the same time the real increase in income of the urban population came to only 0.5 percent, and the real income of (?the family) also decreased. So we even have a new saying that prices grow like a beard while wages grow like eyebrows. [laughter] Now that is figuratively speaking, of course, but people are unhappy about this.

Now what factors lead to such a rapid growth of prices? Apparently the most important thing here is the extraordinarily large, excessive issuance of money.

[Tsvetov] You mean the printing presses are running?

[Yang] Yes.

[Morozov] I can add that presently in China—Comrade Yang Iming can confirm or clarify this—approximately 20 percent of the overall goods turnover falls in the category of firm prices, 45 percent free market prices, and 25 percent regulated prices of various kinds. Now, what I want to say is that in many cases price increases in China begin as soon as reforms get stronger. In other words, as soon as administrative restraining factors are lifted in the sphere of price formation, immediately you see the influence of those accumulated structural distortions in prices that have accumulated over a period of 40 years in China, in the same way as this has happened with us over a period of 70 years. In other words they have exactly the same price scissors [refers to divverging lines on a graph], besides very deep scissors, and so forth. Now of course you cannot reject the concept of free price formation if you do not want to reject the concept of a planned commodity economy. At the same time practice shows that it is still not possible to let these processes off the leash, because of the enormous distortions that were accumulated previously, for instance.

Therefore, these processes must be implemented under control, gradually. It appears that Chinese economists are arriving at this idea, and they have now outlined a 2-year period of regulation, which does not, however, signify a rejection of those principles that were laid down in the reforms.

[Yang] That is right. Now to add a little: You know recently Comrade Yuan Mu, a spokesman of the PRC State Council, declared that since November of last year, that is in the past 2 months, price increases had slowed somewhat.

[Tsvetov] Comrades, I would like to continue our discussion in the following direction. Of course, we and our television viewers would like to see where China will go. Now to determine the direction China will take, its movement, more or less correctly, we must remember or ascertain what stage of social and economic development China is at today.

[Morozov] Well, presently the theory of the so-called initial stage of socialism is being very actively elaborated in China. The theory of the initial stage of socialism says—or Chinese theorists say—that a socialist society has already been established in China, but that socialism in its initial stage—which, by the way, according to our Chinese comrades should last about 100 years—is a planned market economy, an economy in which there is no supremacy of...[changes thought] that is a complete monopoly of public property on the means of production, and payment for labor. It is an economy that allows the existence of various kinds of structures other than socialist, because to establish a real market economy on the basis of a monopoly of property alone is impossible, because market relations are relations between independent commodity manufacturers. That in itself predetermines that the very nature of state and social property must change and that maybe even others may emerge.

[Tsvetov] You know, I consider the concept of property that you are speaking of now to be very wise, because, say, private and individual property and cooperative property are all forms of social property. After all, as I see it, under capitalism there is a division between those who have property and those who do not. However, here the existence of cooperative property does not presume nor does it envisage liquidation of other forms of property, and all these forms of property represent a form of social property.

Now I think that it is very true; it could possibly be said that any form of property should be considered reasonable if it promotes the development of the economy.

[Morozov] Yes, that is how Chinese scientists and politicians view this question. They say that the main criterion of whether or not they are socialist forms or not, whether or not they have a right to exist, is the extent to which they promote the development of productive forces. After all, the historic meaning of substituting capitalism with socialism lies in this: that it provides a more perfect organization that gives greater opportunities for developing productive forces, particularly if we bear in mind that at the center of the productive forces is man.

So this is why the Chinese reform —and this is why we call it a most profound reform—is essentially not called economic reform by them. If you translate it accurately in China it is called a reform of the economic system.

[Tsvetov] Vladimir Ilich Lenin said that politics is concentrated economics. I think the economic reforms in China would be impossible if the Chinese Government did not join the process of disarmament, the processes of detente that are occuring now throughout the world.

I think that we should. We are simply obliged to devote part of our discussion to this problem.

[Yakovlev] You put it correctly when you said that there was a close link here. In fact, having concentrated now on domestic problems, China is naturally interested in being left alone so that it would not be bothered in tackling these problems. However, that is a simply pragmatic approach. At the same time I think that the fundamental basis of the foreign policy of any socialist country has an enormous significance. It favors peace not because it is needed today, but it favors peace on principle. So of course a movement toward a correct understanding of a socialist foreign policy as of socialism itself, to put it plainly, follows a winding path.

It is only now, as far as we can see, that a foreign policy adequate to socialism is forming. This is clearly and succinctly expressed not only in the principles expressed in the Soviet Union's foreign policy but also in the foreign policies of Warsaw Pact member states and other socialist countries, including China. It should be said that this decade not only brought great successes and changes to internal China, but also very serious, fundamental changes of strategic character in China's foreign policy. I feel that the PRC had made a major contribution in popularizing the five general principles of democracy that have been so well known for such a long time. These are presently acquiring a universal character, and are accepted as principles of international relations. I feel that this is the very thing that allows restructuring to take place not only in international relations on the infrasystem level, but also at the intrasystem level as well. Progress in this field has been great, and it should be said that China made a significant contribution in this.

We have been speaking about countries of the world developing their relations along the principles of the new thinking. I feel that China's foreign policy has arrived at these ideas independently, but also under outside influences. These ideas became universal.

[Vorontsov] Yes. Allow me to put it the following way: If in the past we viewed the geometry of relations of, say, the United States and the PRC with misgivings [opaseniye], and thought that improvements on one side would naturally be to the detriment of the other side, then this situation has absolutely changed. Shevardnadze, our minister of foreign affairs, affirmed that this geometry is no longer applicable. Shultz made exactly the same point. Now, let us touch on the principles of coexistence as outlined by Alexander Grigoryevich. Certainly, people of my generation remember the Panchashila Principles, which will be remembered this year on the pages of our journal due to the fact that 35 years have elapsed since these principles were stated in 1954. They had their role to play, and we remember this. But what was the situation then? The winds of the cold war blew across Europe, and these principles, which had a place for a time following the Korean War in Asia, were somehow later discarded. Conflicts arose once again, and competition, confrontation, and so forth became commonplace. Even when things became calmer in Europe, in Asia stormy military events were taking place. Presently the situation has changed. Now these principles are are very meaningful, and they are acquiring the status of legal rules that can truly act as lever in the development of relations. Thus, within the framework of mutual interdependence of various centers, I feel that the Chinese policy is increasingly acquiring a positive character. Furthermore, I feel that the Soviet Union-PRC configuration is very significant.

[Tsvetov] Perhaps this is also due to the practical steps undertaken by the Chinese Government. As you know, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will be going to China any day now to make specific preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

[Vorontsov] As you know, Qian Qichen visited us, and our journal was represented at the press conference. In fact, we posed the first question. His answer was brief, but I feel it covered all points: Prospects for cooperation exist and will continue to develop. He envisages great prospects for developing various forms of cooperation in the Far East with the Soviet Union. This includes such aspects as joint ventures, trade, and work force utilization. In this I feel, much will depend on us.

[Tsvetov] You mean to say that our future political and economic rapprochement with China depends, to a great degree, on us. It depends how actively we work in this direction and how quickly we respond to problems that arise. According to the information available, we have many problems and questions in common, and yet the Chinese comrades are overcoming these problems much quicker.

[Vorontsov] A colleague who is an editor with PRC Ministry of Foreign Trade visited me, and we had many interesting talks. In one of them we touched on the problems of joint enterprises. We asked him how much time was needed to solve a joint enterprise question. His answer was: 24 hours. I was somewhat surprised by this, as were the others. It would have taken us 6 months. Right now we have some 500 applications, and I have no idea how long these will take, perhaps a long time yet. Perhaps psychologically we are not ready yet. The barriers must be removed. That is what restructuring is all about.

[Tsvetov] Comrades, in conclusion I would like to say that the mere fact that this discussion was held attests to just how high our interest in the PRC is. The main reason for this interest is that the processes taking place here and in China are similar in many respects. Our successes are very often similar, as well as the problems we encounter. When Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that increasingly more points of convergence are developing between the Soviet Union and China, I think that by transforming certain specific actions into specific policy he will increase these points of convergence even more. At this point I would like to thank you all.

[Vorontsov] I, too, would like to thank you but before I do, I would like to publicly thank Yang Iming. Her participation in our broadcast is more than mere coincidence. It also has a nuance of some significance, even from the point of view of Chinese history. As you know, traditionally, it was often possible in the past to see signs: Words spoken by women and children are not to be taken seriously. This certainly is no longer the case.

[Tsvetov] I will expand on this thought. The presence at this table of Yang Iming is one of the points of convergence. That is why in thanking the participants today I would first like to thank you, and then the scholars, workers, and authors of PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA journal, and also all the viewers. All the best.

## Northeast Asia

### Japanese Socialists' Action Program Described

*PM0102112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*28 Jan 89 First Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Japan: Congress Over"]

[Text] Tokyo, 27 Jan—The 54th routine congress of the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] has completed its work in Tokyo. The congress delegates spent 3 days discussing issues connected with an assessment of the political situation in the country and the elaboration of the party's course of action for 1989.

The policy of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party was criticized at the congress. Noting the falling political prestige of the present cabinet headed by Noboru

Takeshita, and the growing general discontent with corruption in political circles, representatives of the party leadership in their speeches oriented the party toward mounting a mass struggle against the policy of Japanese ruling circles, which does not meet the people's interests.

The congress delegates approved the "JSP Course of Action for 1989." The document condemns the Takeshita cabinet's maneuvers, which have resulted in a new tax system, that worsens the working people's material situation, being introduced in the country. Stern criticism is also leveled at the authorities' social policy in the spheres of hiring, labor legislation, pension provision, medical services, and so forth. A number of sections of the "Course of Action" are devoted to a critique of the Takeshita cabinet's foreign policy course, aimed at turning Japan into a "great military power," expanding Japanese-U.S. military cooperation on the basis of the "security treaty," and abandoning the three non-nuclear principles once supported by the ruling party—a course at variance with the spirit of easing international tension. The U.S. Armed Forces' maneuvers on Japanese territory and the U.S. command's attempts to extend its network of military bases in Japan are protested in this connection.

The "Course of Action" adopted by the congress orients the party toward actively promoting the cause of easing tension and strengthening peace and disarmament in Asia. It notes the party's intention to assist public organizations which advocate Japanese-Soviet friendship, to promote a positive dialogue between the governments of Japan and the Soviet Union, to contribute to the settlement of disputed issues, to arrange party contacts with the CPSU, and to strengthen solidarity between the two parties.

### Japanese Emperor Akihito Cables Gorbachev

*LD2901075989 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 29 Jan*

[Text] Tokyo January 29 TASS—Japan's Emperor Akihito on Saturday sent a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It expresses condolences over heavy human casualties which the recent earthquake in Tajikistan has entailed.

### Kim Il-Song Cited on Korean Unification

*PM0102153389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Interview With Kim Il-Song"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 30 Jan—In an interview with the Italian radio and television service RAI-TV Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the DPRK, expressed the hope that the improvements taking place in the international situation will assist in reducing tension and ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula. In order to unite Korea by means of creating a democratic confederated republic of Korea, the Korean leader noted, it is primarily important to eliminate the threat of war and relax the situation on the Korean peninsula.

### Arbatov Interviewed on ROK-USSR Relations

*SK0202085089 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 1 Feb 89 p 5*

[Interview with Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR's United States of America and Canada Institute, by CHUNGANG ILBO correspondent Choe Chol-chu, in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] CHUNGANG ILBO correspondent Choe Chol-chu met Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Science's United States of America and Canada Institute in Moscow. A man who made the Soviet policy of detente, Arbatov has served as a foreign policy expert for four top Soviet leaders since Brezhnev. Together with Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev, he is known today as one of the two major brains sustaining Gorbachev's foreign policy.

Born in 1923, he is noted as a leader in the making of Soviet foreign policy, particularly the policy toward the United States.

He became a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1974 and a member of the party Central Committee in 1981.

The following is the content of the interview with correspondent Choe.

[Choe Chol-chu] There are indications that ROK-USSR economic exchange is gradually widening. What are the prospects for the improvement of relations between the two countries?

[Georgiy Arbatov] The prospects are considerable. There are areas both countries share in their stage of economic development—in other words, the ROK produces what the Soviet Union needs, and the Soviet Union can produce what the ROK needs.

Because of this need, a researcher from our institute secretly visited the ROK in October-November last year.

Our institute has a joint venture enterprise with a Canadian firm, and they are also interested in the ROK.

In our country, it is not only our institute that is deeply interested in the economic cooperation between our two countries, but also many other organizations, which have greater economic influence.

[Choe] How will the ROK-Soviet economic exchange affect the issue of the Korean peninsula?

[Arbatov] It will have a favorable affect. Trade always helps deepen mutual understanding, and such understanding will bring the alleviation of tension.

[Choe] Some Soviet experts on the Korean peninsula support the need for simultaneous UN entry into the North and the South, and four-party talks. What is your view on this?

[Arbatov] I think that in order to make a political decision, both North Korea and the ROK should approve of it. As far as I know, there is still a difference of opinion between the two sides. If there is such a difference of opinion, I am afraid that it may adversely affect the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

[Choe] How would you appraise the northern policy pushed forward by the ROK Government on the basis of liquidating the cold war apparatus?

[Arbatov] We and North Korea have been friends for a long time, and we would like to preserve this fraternal relationship. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze reconfirmed this when he visited North Korea last year. However, things like that (the northern policy of the ROK) will not cause any damage to the alleviation of tension on the Korean peninsula. We welcome any step that will normalize the present situation and alleviate the local confrontation.

[Choe] To what degree is General Secretary Gorbachev's perestroyka affecting North Korea?

[Arbatov] It is difficult to explain it because I do not have specific knowledge about North Korean affairs; however, I think perestroyka and the new thinking would affect any country, for the new thinking has an objective foundation.

We would not like to force our ideology, opinion, or methods for solving a problem on anyone.

Perestroyka and the new thinking were derived not from General Secretary Gorbachev or the minds of his staff but from the new world situation.

For example, one aspect we can observe is that the role of the military has diminished in the world and mutual dependence has been increasing despite many contradictions. U.S. policy toward its Western allies has so far been based on the theory that there is a threat from the Soviet Union.

However, a major reform is under way in the Soviet Union, and U.S. President Reagan [as published] has recently altered his previous statement that the Soviet Union is an evil empire. These changes are affecting the politics and policies of many countries.

[Choe] It has been reported that ROK President No Tae-u sent a letter to General Secretary Gorbachev. Will this unofficial exchange gradually increase the possibility of a dialogue between the top leaders of the two countries?

[Arbatov] If there was such a letter, it must have been delivered unofficially. I cannot comment in any way on something unofficial.

[Choe] Does North Korea's Kim Il-song have a route by which he can communicate with the U.S. President, just as the ROK president exchanges letters with General Secretary Gorbachev?

[Arbatov] That is a matter to be decided by the leaders of the two countries. Such a route may be used if some problem occurs, or to solve a problem. But if the circumstances are not suitable, it will not be used. In any case, I suspect that there may be a route for contact between the Soviet Union and the ROK. There may also be a route between North Korea and the United States.

[Choe] In order to maintain and strengthen the route for contacts between the ROK and the Soviet Union, is the Soviet Union playing the role of mediator in order to facilitate dialogue between North Korea and the United States?

[Arbatov] I do not know what was discussed in the conversation between the Soviet Union and the ROK, nor did I directly participate in that conversation. We cannot tell North Korea not to do this or that. It is up to the free will of North Korea to decide.

[Choe] Is your plan to visit the ROK being delayed?

[Arbatov] I intended to have made the visit in January, but various things that occupied me in the country delayed my schedule. It was delayed, for instance, because there was a meeting recently which was attended by former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger and former Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone. I cannot tell yet when I will be able to visit the ROK.

[Choe] It is known that Kim Tae-chung, president of the PPD [Party for Peace and Democracy] of South Korea, will visit the Soviet Union at the invitation of the United States of America and Canada Institute. Is it possible to interpret this to mean that the Soviet Union intends to enter into political relations with the ROK beginning at the opposition party level?

[Arbatov] A certain ROK activist (referring to people in general working in various fields, including the political field) made the request, and we did not object to it. His specific itinerary has not been decided yet. It is a totally unofficial invitation. We are not a political organization but a research institute. We think that his visit to the Soviet Union will serve as a reference for him in the study of the Pacific region.

[Choe] Do you think the ROK-Soviet economic exchange will affect U.S. policy toward the ROK?

[Arbatov] I think U.S. policy will remain the same. But touching upon a different aspect of the problem, the United States is concerned that it is losing competitiveness with many countries in the Pacific region, and it is taking care to diversify its economic exchange with the countries in the Pacific region.

The Soviet Union is trying not to stand in the way of the U.S. role toward many countries in the Pacific region. However, trade is trade and competition is unavoidable.

### Soviet, Mongolian Trade Union Chiefs Converse

*PM3101153989 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Fraternal Meeting"]

[Text] On 27 January a meeting took place in the Palace of Labor between S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, and B. Luvsantseren, chairman of the Mongolian Trade Union Central Council, who is in Moscow.

During the conversation, which took place in a fraternal and cordial atmosphere, the sides exchanged information on the Soviet and Mongolian trade unions' participation in restructuring, accelerating socioeconomic development, and democratizing social life in the USSR and Mongolia. Ways to further boost the efficiency of Soviet-Mongolian trade union cooperation and certain questions concerning the international trade union movement were also discussed.

### Mongolia Restricts Needed Consumer Goods' Export

*PM0102172989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS repport: "New Rules"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 27 Jan—As reported by MONTSAME, new customs control rules will be introduced in Mongolia from the middle of February. They envisage reducing or completely banning the export of goods for which the Mongolian population has a prior need. This involves fur and leather goods, children's clothing, and also goods imported by the country for freely convertible currency.

## Near East & South Asia

### Israeli Relations Threatened by UN Appointment

*TA0202065089 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 2 Feb 89 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Geneva based correspondent Sari Robert]

[Text] "With this step Israel has wiped out all the progress made in the contacts to renew diplomatic relations with us," a Soviet diplomatic source in Geneva told MA'ARIV last night in response to the report that Natan Shcharanskiy may be appointed Israel's UN ambassador. "It takes two sides to hold negotiations, and Israel is not demonstrating a serious attitude toward the restoration of ties with us. Now there will be a total freeze," the diplomat said. He added: "We regret very much the appointment of Anatoliy Shcharanskiy to the United Nations and view it as a sign that Israel is not seriously interested in improving relations with the USSR." This response contradicts remarks made by a Soviet diplomat in New York, who said that the planned nomination would have no effect on relations between the two countries.

[Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English on 2 February in a page 12 report by Menahem Shalev and Walter Ruby adds: "Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir has privately expressed reservations about the proposed appointment of Natan Shcharanskiy as Israel's next ambassador to the UN, informed sources in Jerusalem said last night. The sources said that although Shamir has frequently expressed his great admiration for Shcharanskiy, he is concerned that his appointment would not be taken well in Moscow, and might be perceived there as a needless Israeli provocation, the sources said."

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 0500 GMT on 2 February adds that "Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir prefers that Ambassador in Paris 'Ovadya Sofer be appointed UN ambassador rather than Natan Shcharanskiy. The appointment has therefore not yet been made."]

### Withdrawal From Afghanistan Continues on Schedule

#### Soviet Convoy Shelled 1 Feb

*LD0202121389 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[Excerpt] Armed Afghan opposition units have shelled with missiles a convoy of Soviet troops leaving Afghanistan in keeping with the Geneva agreements. According to a spokesman of the Interior Ministry in Kabul, the convoy was attacked on Wednesday [1 February] within several kilometers of the city. [passage omitted]

#### 'Extremists' Suffer 'Big Losses'

*LD0202055189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[Text] Reports from Kabul say that, during combat actions by the Afghan Army in Nangarhar and Laghman Provinces, the extremists suffered big losses. Subunits of the special guard which is operating in the Salang Pass area have discovered major arms caches. In Herat Province, a truck belonging to one of the opposition groups was blown up by a mine laid by the rebels. As a result of the explosion, 5 people died and 20 people were wounded.

## Afghan Developments Updated

*PM0102203189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Roundup prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and A. Greshnov in Kabul under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: Opposition Rebuffed"]

[Text] In accordance with the Soviet leadership's political decision, the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan will leave that country down to the last soldier within the period specified in the Geneva accords. This was stated at a news conference in Kabul by Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet forces. He emphasized that both the Soviet and Afghan sides are scrupulously observing all the provisions of the Geneva package of accords, while Pakistan and the United States, which are guarantors of the agreements, are blatantly and crudely violating them.

The U.S. State Department has accused the USSR of subjecting Afghan territory to massive bombardment. According to a State Department spokesman, the Soviet Union has resorted to "scorched earth tactics" in the Salang area.

Replying to journalists' questions, B.V. Gromov explained that the recent strike by the Afghan Army carried out with the assistance of Soviet units against the armed formations of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, which tried to block the road from Hayraton to Kabul south of the Salang Pass and thus to condemn the city with its population of 2 million to starvation, was undertaken in order to ensure normal supplies of essential goods to the capital and its inhabitants. The Afghan Army now controls the situation south of the Salang and is ready to counter any attempts by the armed opposition to cut the "lifeline."

The situation in the Afghan capital, which the rebels intend to blockade, remains the focus of attention of the foreign press and television companies. Diverse, sometimes diametrically opposed, forecasts are being made. "Experts fear that the consequences of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the country will be terrible," a CBS correspondent reports from Kabul.

The French newspaper LE MONDE is of a different opinion. "According to diplomatic sources," the newspaper's commentary reads, "the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from the country is to coincide with the announcement of a cease-fire between government forces and opposition subunits. It is possible that a truce will follow as soon as the Soviet forces have left. It is assumed that the present government will resign in order to facilitate the quest for a political settlement and establish a collegial ruling organ which will conduct negotiations on the formation of a transitional government. During this time there will be constant contacts between the opposition and the authorities, and this makes it possible to assume that the worst—a battle for Kabul—may be avoided."

During the past few days the world's major television companies have shown the ceremony of the closure of the U.S. Embassy and the lowering of the U.S. flag. On Tuesday the last French diplomat left the capital, and the staff of the Italian Embassy has been evacuated. The embassies of all socialist countries and a number of major Asian countries and staffers of UN organizations remain in Kabul.

AFP reports that after consultations at the UN Security Council, where a possible evacuation of this international organization's personnel from Kabul was discussed, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar said: "We are there now, and we intend to stay there." At present, the agency reports, 69 UN officials are working in Kabul, excluding technical staff.

Rabbani, one of the leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven," said in an interview published in the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-ANBA' that the Afghan opposition groupings will not storm Kabul and other cities after the Soviet forces complete their withdrawal from Afghanistan in order to prevent casualties among the civilian population. However, so far this is just talk. During the past 24 hours the cities of Gardeyz and Jalalabad and security posts on the outskirts of Kabul have again been subjected to rocket fire. There are casualties among the civilian population, about whom the "diehards" are allegedly concerned.

The editorial office contacted the TASS correspondent in Kabul and asked him to describe the situation in the city in some detail.

[Correspondent] The situation remains "averagely grave." In recent days the rebels have staged a number of terrorist acts in Kabul. A truck carrying Soviet servicemen was blown up by a magnetic mine in the capital's Khayr Khanah district. Fortunately, no one was hurt.

[IZVESTIYA] What is the situation as regards food and fuel?

[Correspondent] In recent days gasoline has been unobtainable in the city. As a result, there are hardly any cars in the streets. The food problem is no longer as acute as it was before, and there is enough flour, thanks to regular flights by our military transport aircraft, which are flying it in from Tashkent. The Afghan authorities have carried out a number of operations to expose all kind of swindlers and speculators who are reselling stolen or plundered food at the market. Yesterday, for instance, a large batch of condensed milk—16 tonnes—was confiscated.

On the other hand, hundreds of stall owners continue to do a brisk trade in the Afghan capital. As is well known, in the East this is a good political barometer.

## Opposition Ignores Afghan Interests

*LD0102183989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Exactly 2 weeks remain before the completion of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan. Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, speaks about the situation in the country and about special features of the final stage.

[Shkirando] As far as the military-political situation in Afghanistan today is concerned, it is, unfortunately, not simple. Representatives of the diehard opposition, for example, in ignoring the fundamental interests of the Afghan people, are attempting to mount an economic blockade around Kabul and thereby condemn the population of the capital to death by starvation.

For the purpose of ensuring free transport of the convoys carrying foodstuffs and essential goods to Kabul, government troosp are taking up positions along the communication lines in southern Salang with the active assistance of units and subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. Powerful attacks have been inflicted against the bands of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, provoking combat operations in this region, as a result of which both Soviet and Afghan servicemen died. This was an enforced measure. At the same time, hope is voiced in Afghanistan that forces will eventually be found in the ranks of the opposition which will demand from Ahmad Shah Mas'ud the observance of principles common to all mankind.

And so, the last Soviet soldier will return to his homeland in 2 weeks. Meanwhile our boys, under difficult conditions, are exerting the necessary assistance to our Southern neighbor. These days, for example, military transport planes carrying flour and other foodstuffs are arriving in Kabul every day.

In all, more than 3,000 tonnes of flour and 100 tonnes of canned meat were airlifted to the Afghan capital in January.

The past 9 years have been a severe test of Soviet-Afghan friendship. But these days the Afghan people bid farewell to their Soviet friends, who are departing for their homeland, in the knowledge that their northern neighbor will not abandon them to their fate.

## Pakistani Interference Criticized

*PM0202115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch under the rubric "On-the-Spot Report": "Returning from Afghanistan. How the Geneva Accords Are Being Implemented"]

[Text] Kabul, 1 Feb—The pullout of Soviet forces from Afghanistan continues. Columns of trucks carrying servicemen make their way along the road from Kabul to Hayraton, toward the Amu Darya and the Afghan-Soviet border.

The Salang Pass is greeting the departing troops with dazzling snow. A complex situation has developed here among the peaks of the Hindu Kush. Huge masses of snow overhang the route. In one night alone some 30 avalanches came down in the area of the pass. Six armored personnel carriers with their crews were buried under the snow. Assistance came quickly; the people were dug out; no one perished. Your correspondent was told at the headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet forces that the columns are proceeding on schedule.

By 15 February the pullout of Soviet forces from Afghanistan will be completed. This was stated by Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet forces, at a news conference for Afghan and foreign journalists in Kabul.

Our forces' return home from Afghanistan is evoking lively interest among representatives of the mass news media. A large "force" of representatives of the world's leading newspapers and television companies has descended on the Afghan capital. They literally "attacked" the commander with questions.

The armed formations of the "irreconcilable" Afghan opposition opened fire in the area of the Kabul-Hayraton road when Afghan Government forces started taking over Soviet strongpoints and outposts guarding the road. This provoked a retaliatory strike against Ahmad Shah Mas'ud's groupings. The extremism of the armed opposition serves to exacerbate the trials and tribulations of the civilian population. [In the version of V. Okulov's dispatch carried on page 5 of Moscow PRAVDA 2 February's First Edition the preceding sentence reads: "The extremism of the armed opposition—while failing, of course, to bring it military successes—only serves to exacerbate the trials and tribulations of the civilian population."] Lieutenant General B. Gromov said that the Soviet command is helping the civilian population with food and fuel. This aid will continue, the commander said. [The First Edition version at this point includes the following additional sentence: "We will not leave our southern neighbor in the lurch."]

Certain Western news media are currently spreading unscrupulous information about Soviet forces allegedly continuing to plant mines, including booby traps, on Afghan territory. The commander of the limited contingent of Soviet forces categorically rejected this fabrication. The mine fields around industrial and military installations which were laid in the past by Soviet forces have been handed over to the Afghan side, together with the documentation which will help with the removal of the mines as and when necessary. Our sappers have swept many mine fields in areas from which Soviet servicemen departed long ago, and there is no need for us to lay new ones anywhere at all, B. Gromov said.

And so the Soviet and the Afghan sides are abiding strictly by the commitments assumed under the Geneva accords on a political settlement around Afghanistan. The same cannot be said about Pakistan. Interference in internal Afghan affairs from its territory continues. In the eyes of the international community this does not serve to enhance the prestige of the new authorities in Islamabad.

### Perfilyev Interview on Withdrawal

*LD0102235289 Paris Domestic Service in French 1815 GMT 1 Feb 89*

["Afghanistan Without the Russians" from the "Foreign Policy Magazine" program presented by Ralph Pinto, including a telephone interview with Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev by Pinto in Paris and Paris Radio correspondent Ulysee Gosset in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [Pinto] [passage omitted] Vadim Perfilyev, good evening. You are in Moscow. Well, then, this date of 15 February is a good one—the Soviets will have left Afghanistan by 15 February, that is in 13 days.

[Perfilyev] Well, Mr Ralph Pinto, good evening. True, Afghanistan is a very beautiful country. I was there not very long ago, and it is a very beautiful country, and a neighbor of the Soviet Union. But to say that there is great similarity between a post-Vietnam and a post-Afghanistan situation is to draw rather quick conclusions, because the Soviet Union will remain in any event a neighbor of Afghanistan, and Afghanistan will remain a neighbor of the Soviet Union. We leave...the Soviet troops will effectively leave Afghan territory before 15 February.

[Pinto, interrupting] Before 15 February?

[Perfilyev] Yes, before 15 February. But we will not...[changes thought] well, it is not a departure, let us say, a departure from Afghanistan, which would mean that Afghanistan would remain without the Russians. I believe that the title [of the program] does not exactly convey the idea of what we think the situation will be after our withdrawal.

[Pinto] Well, Mr Perfilyev, this is exactly the first point we are going to dwell on. In the Moscow spirit, how should Afghanistan live after the departure of the Soviet troops? What political form do you think Afgfhanistan should take, and on the other hand, up to what point can Afghanistan move? Inside what political system?

[Perfilyev] Well, saying what Afghanistan should do is difficult for another country, and this is also true for the Soviet Union. We know—and I wanted precisely to continue what I have just said—that we will continue to have relations with Afghanistan. We have economic relations, and relations in various other domains, with Afghanistan. And you know very well that these relations will continue, because we foresee a future of good-neighborliness with Afghanistan. Naturally, this will be to whatever extent is acceptable to whatever government Afghanistan will have. We hope that this will be a government of national reconciliation, a government which will include all the elements representing Afghan society, including, of course, those who are presently in the government of Najibullah.

[Pinto] [passage omitted] Do you think, Mr Perfilyev, that the regime of the government of Najibullah will have the means to resist and remain in place after the departure of the Soviets?

[Perfilyev] Of course they have the means. They could resist with all the means at their disposal, including military means. However, this means that war, death, and bloodshed will continue. We think, especially with regard to the representatives of the Afghanistan resistance, who have always said that once the Soviets depart the war will be over, that there will be a possibility of bringing peace to Afghanistan soil. So will it be inevitable for one faction of the resistance or another to take over with force and with further suffering? Perhaps it would be better to try again to have a national reconciliation. [passage omitted] My interlocutor has spoken in quite a negative way about the Geneva accords, which were, in fact, signed not only by the Soviet Union, but by Pakistan and the United States—who like us are guarantors of this agreement—as well as by the Afghanistan Government. So this was something that provided for the formation of a government of national reconciliation.

[Pinto] I note, in fact, that Soviet diplomacy is now so flexible as to allow [Foreign] Minister Shevardnadze to visit Pakistan next weekend to start negotiations with those you have long considered the true leaders of the resistance—at one time you called them bandits, didn't you?

[Perfilyev] You know it is about...[changes thought] You are talking to a deputy spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, which is a ministry of the current USSR Government, a government which seeks to carry out this withdrawal from Afghanistan. Well, Mr Ralph Pinto, with all my admiration for your professional talents, I would like to say that the presentation of things such as the use of napalm....

[Pinto, interrupting] It is true, sir....

[Perfilyev, interrupting] No, it is not true, napalm wasn't used....

[Pinto, interrupting] [passage indistinct]

[Perfilyev] Mr Pinto, let me say somthing first. We have just held in Paris the conference on banning chemical weapons, which was, in fact, chaired by President Mitterrand. Well, this conference discussed all cases of possible use of chemical weapons, and I don't think any expert aserted that the USSR acted against the clauses of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, of which France is a guarantor, which bans the use of chemical weapons. We did not use chemical weapons even during World War II, even when the enemy was only 20 kms away from Moscow. We possessed this chemical weapon, but we didn't use it. Do you think we would use it anywhere? It is a barbaric weapon....

[Pinto, interupting] [passage omitted] How many soldiers were killed, for example? Are there rough figures? [passage omitted]

[Perfilyev] Mr Ralph Pinto, you will understand that at the moment I am not speaking to a Soviet audience. But I would like the figures to be given in a few days, a figure which will be a final figure, because there will no longer be any Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, thus no more injured, no more killed. And I hope the figure will not be very different from what Mr Ulysse Gosset has just cited. But for this, this withdrawal must be carried out under conditions which will allow these soldiers to return to our territory safe and sound as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

[Gosset] Ralph Pinto, may one ask Mr Perfilyev, perhaps, whether he foresees fresh negotiations taking place in the very near future between Mr Vorontsov, for instance, who is more than an ambassador but is a real Soviet Foreign Minister in Afghanistan, and the leaders of the resistance? And is there any hope of reaching a result?

[Pinto, interrupting] Well, and these negotiations, Mr Perfilyev, what would be the subject of such negotiations? Would it be on the guarantee that a government of national unity will be in place in Kabul?

[Perfilyev] I would like to say that I quite agree with Mr Gosset, and I regret if this had not been understood when I was speaking. Evidently, it is for the Afghans and them alone to define the manner in which they want to govern their country, the type of government they want to have. It is the Afghans who decide this; we quite agree on this. Now, because, unfortunately, we see that there is not yet...well, there is no visible contact, because we believe that there is a case for entering into contact, all the more so since we are now in the process of leaving [words indistinct] with the government in place....

[Pinto, interrupting] Mr Perfilyev, why did you wait for December 1988 to enter into contact with the Afghan resistance? Why did you wait so long?

[Perfilyev] Well, this is not perhaps quite correct, because there was in the past, including what was in the context of the Geneva Accords, there was always this invitation, this call for national reconciliation. Besides, when one speaks about the Najibullah Government as a communist government, this is not true, because most members of this government are not members of the PDPA, and besides, the PDPA itself is not a government, or a party for....

[Pinto, interrupting] Mr Perfilyev, at any rate, admit that it is the communist party that essentially holds the power in Kabul for the moment. One cannot deny this.

[Perfilyev] President Najibullah has the government of Mr Sharq, who is not a member of the PDPA, and the Sharq government....

[Pinto, interrupting] Yes, nominally, it is true that these people are not members of the party, but....

[Perfilyev, interrupting] Well, I do not now know the rules in France concerning Afghanistan, but it is a country with which you have diplomatic relations; therefore, I think that one should have some respect vis-a-vis both the KGB [as heard] and the Afghan Prime Minister. Therefore, I believe that, at any rate, what we are trying to do is to facilitate contact between Afghans, and when we are invited....

[Pinto, interrupting] [passage omitted]

[Perfilyev] The products of the war in Afghanistan, unfortunately we see them on crutches here in the Soviet Union in many towns, and we regret it greatly. It is our young people, it is our misfortune, the tears of their mothers. We want to do everything for this to end as soon as possible in a few days. But all of them were victims of weapons, and what we propose, what we have proposed for a long time, what Mr Gorbachev proposed at the UN General Assembly—and this was said recently on 7 December 1988—let us stop the supply of all weapons to Afghanistan. That is what we say. Let us stop supplying weapons. I said this during the briefing this afternoon at the Foreign Ministry; we hope that the new U.S. Administration will respond to this appeal and that all supplies of weapons to Afghanistan will be ended so that there will be fewer of these products of war, that there will be fewer human victims of the war in Afghanistan.

[Pinto] Does this mean that you are ready to send no more weapons to the Kabul Regime?

[Perfilyev] Naturally on a reciprocal basis, if everyone agrees with this solution that we proposed to the United Nations, that Mr Gorbachev proposed when he was there. [passage omitted]

[Pinto] We have fewer than 10 minutes left to try to glimpse, if not the possibilities of a reconciliation, at least a government which would bring in all the political trends, whether they come from the present regime or from the resistance. Mr Perfilyev, do you really believe in this type, if not of reconciliation, then at least of an organization which would be representative of all the Afghan factions.

[Perfilyev] There are only two choices—one is national reconciliation. Obviously peace in Afghanistan does not mean that one faction or the other would reign over Afghanistan as an absolute monarch. That is not possible; therefore, there must be consensus, there must be concensus. It is harmony, it is reconciliation, it is thus a government of national unity which might resolve all these problems of the (?role) of Afghanistan. If people disagree with this solution, it means that war continues, suffering continues, human lives continue to be lost.

Obviously everyone sees the future of Afghanistan in his own way, perhaps every party sees itself as the supreme leader of Afghanistan, but if it is not this aspiration for power which governs the aspirations of any group, if it is really the interests of the people, then they must now join in this search for a peaceful future, even if there is not agreement on everything, even if some do not respect each other completely, and even if they are not happy with a partners' standpoints. [passage omitted]

[Perfilyev] Mr Pinto, I would like to have half a minute before the end.

[Pinto] Go ahead.

[Perfilyev] We are leaving of our own accord, it is our choice, it is the choice of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, of the Soviet leadership, and of the Party Secretary General Mr Gorbachev. In what was said, I hear almost regret over the departure of the Soviets. At present, there is only a Soviet military presence in a few of the provinces. In a few days, militarily we will no longer be there. We want there to be no more foreign weapons in the country; and we invite the Afghans, their government, the government that will be formed by the Afghans themselves, to have relations with the Soviet Union as they would like. We have had these relations with Afghanistan since the beginning of the Soviet Union's existence, with a very different government, and we hope these good-neighborly relations will continue. [passage omitted]

## Morale in Kabul Low

*LD0202002589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Excerpt] [Kudrin] Of course, we are paying special attention to events in Afghanistan. The other day I spoke to our Kabul correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy. He told me about the complex situation in which the population of the Afghan capital lives; about the shortage of food and fuel. The difficulties are aggravated by an unusually cold winter. We also learned about the help that is coming from the USSR, about how quickly an air bridge was set up, making it possible for Soviet aircraft to deliver flour to Kabul daily. I asked him the following question in particular:

[Begin video recording, showing Kudrin talking to Leshchinskiy via a television link-up]

[Kudrin] You know there is a certain feeling of gloom and doom in the reports from your colleagues and foreign correspondents, including a BBC correspondent. A curious thing should be mentioned here: one of them even said that the Afghan people and Kabul's population are so depressed, and Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan are so downcast, that even the usually lively and optimistic tone of the Soviet Television correspondent in Kabul has changed. I think, of course, that they were hinting directly at you.

[Leshchinskiy] I must say that, of course, the difficulties that we mentioned in the beginning of our conversation are effecting Kabul's Afghan population, and one could hardly say that optimism and a carefree mood reign here. It is a complex and crucial period for the Afghan people. As for us, the Soviet people who work here and, by the way, who will be working here—if not we ourselves, then our colleagues—and as for our Army, everybody is busy carrying out their tasks; there is no panic, gloom, or disappointment. Everybody is too busy for that, and this work is very important and interesting. As for my own gloomy mood—I think that even today's conversation should disprove this allegation.

[Kudrin] I have heard what I wanted to hear. Thank you very much and all the best to you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

## Departing Soviet Troops Portrayed

*PM0102151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Dispatch by correspondents V. Izgarshev and V. Okulov: "Withdrawal Continuing"]

[Text] Kabul, 31 Jan—Subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet troops are continuing to cross the high-mountain Salang Pass toward the Amudarya, which forms the border, and Termez. The day is not far off when our last column will leave Afghanistan.

Politicians and military historians still have to sum up in detail the results of our units' and subunits' stay in the land of our southern neighbor after going there at the request of the Republic's government. It is most likely that everything will be said frankly and plainly, even with regard to what the leader of the party and the country recently called the "sins."

But, for now, we will describe what we see and hear while among the servicemen of the limited contingent....

"Do you miss your home, Grisha?"

Private Aleyev, a likable, cheerful, brawny, snub-nosed guy of average height, born in Zaporozhye Oblast, and driver of a UAZ truck, smoothed his light, flaxen mustache—not at all like that of someone from Zaporozhye—and replied unhesitatingly:

"And how! This is my 3d year of service...."

Like the majority of servicemen with his specialty, he volunteered to remain in Afghanistan—until the end of the troop withdrawal. And suddenly a rumor swept among the soldiers that the withdrawal was being postponed because the situation did not permit them to leave Afghanistan by the previously announced date. There is no hiding the fact that many were openly upset. In response to our assurances that the rumors were groundless the soldier reasonably retorted:

"Why, then, is there not a word about the withdrawal in the newspapers? And why did our foreign minister travel to Kabul, and now the defense minister too?"

Soldiers listen, think, and order the withdrawal situation in an everyday way, invariably associating their observations with their most vital aspirations and hopes....

War is war. You cannot have war without casualties. Everyone knows that the ranks of red-star obelisks have grown longer in many of our village and city cemeteries over these 9 years. And in many military and civilian hospitals "Afghan" soldiers are still lying, as they have done for several months or perhaps even years, healing their wounds. And the mothers who have lost their own darlings in this war will never know consolation and joy. Never....

We arranged a telephone call to Zaporozhye for Grigoriy Aleyev at the PRAVDA correspondents' Kabul center.... The callers at both ends of the telephone wire cried their eyes out, both Grisha and his mother, Aleksandra Ivanovna, who works in the transformer plant....

Soldier Aleyev has repeatedly traveled with convoys from Hayraton to Kabul as a member of a repair subunit. He has been under fire, and in various situations he has given what assistance he could to drivers of heavy trucks. "Have you received any awards?" "No, I have not—what distinction can you accomplish in a repair battalion?"

After a pause he abruptly said:

"The chief reward is still to come—on the other side of the 'stream,' at home, on our native soil. We will arrive whole and unharmed—that is the reward...."

They think about this. And how could it be otherwise?

Major Shamil Alimbekov has crisscrossed the Afghan skies in his Mi-8. Just what tight spots has his crew not gotten into! They have landed in the mountains, clinging with one wheel to a rocky area. They once pancaked vertically from almost 5,000 meters to 3,500 meters to take on board a group of airborne servicemen in a remote gorge....

We were flying into the mountains with Alimbekov. The major had taken off at top speed. And at the lowest possible altitude, hugging the natural features, he steered the aircraft toward a snowy ridge. The helicopter's maneuvers took our breath away.

Later, on our return, the major said in response to our "Take care!":

"That's the only way to do it here. If you fly a bit higher or more leisurely, you could well get a helping of lead or even a missile from behind a mud wall."

He has been awarded the Order of the Red Star and recommended for a Red Banner. A brave master, in his hands a helicopter in the air is more obedient than a bicycle. But now, at the end of his "Afghan" service, he too is on a par with soldier Aleyev: Occasionally he will miss his home in Kazan, his wife Lyudmila, his little daughter Gulnara, his mother Raziya Valeyevna, and his grandmother Nafisya....

He lost his combat comrade 1 September last year.

They were returning to the "point" at the time, having fulfilled a combat mission. Suddenly the voice of the last man in the group came over the intercom headsets:

"No 565 downed...."

"I don't read you!"

"No 565 has been downed...by a Stinger...."

They turned around. A ball of fire was blazing on the ground, beside a road. They circled above their comrades' fiery grave and summoned "Rook" ground-attack aircraft to comb the terrain....

Captain M. Khripach, commander of the downed helicopter, had distinguished himself back in Chernobyl. He was recommended for a medal. He had shown heroism in Afghanistan too. He was recommended for an award here as well. He did not receive one either there or here. Neither during his lifetime, nor posthumously.

Such things happen in war too. Frequently, alas....

During these days we have met with dozens of internationalist servicemen at posts, on guard duty, in soldiers' barrack blocks, and in officers' hostels. They all asked the same questions: When will we be leaving here? What will happen to this land, which has been sprinkled with our blood, after we have gone?

It has, of course, not been easy to serve and fight here. The climate here is hard, and the terrain is unfamiliar to many people. Mountains, deserts.... Rock. Dust that gets everywhere.... But a soldier gets accustomed to any burdens. And he has adapted himself to the conditions here. He has gotten on well with the people, with the local inhabitants. He has always been ready to help and has helped, and sometimes he has shared his last ration with Afghan friends. So our serviceman is far from indifferent to his friends' fate.

The interests of Soviet servicemen here are multifaceted, as they are throughout the country. Restructuring, preparations for elections, the misfortunes of Armenia and Tajikistan.... All this is of concern to the fighter-patriot. He is equally concerned at and wounded by certain rash articles about the Afghan war in magazine pages and on television screens.

THE NEW YORK TIMES recently reported that the USSR had adopted a decision not to provide coverage of the last stage of its troop withdrawal. And again: Foreign journalists are being asked to leave Afghanistan.... Two untruths at once. The Soviet Union has made no decision to pull out of Afghanistan "on the quiet." As for the presence of Western journalists in Afghanistan, we can testify that the Soviet command assigned a helicopter to Steven Hearst, for example, and his group from the American CNN to take photographs, while for the withdrawal it made available a place on the "armor" in one of the departing convoys.

The troop withdrawal is continuing. Internationalist fighters who have been transferred to the reserve are flying to Tashkent and other cities on board the aircraft delivering flour and other freight to Kabul. And convoys of trucks carrying the effects of service units, establishments, and the post exchange have already gone north....

A column of airborne servicemen, ready to march, lined up along a road on the outskirts of Kabul long before dawn. The servicemen are leaving here, where they have been stationed, for good, but they are not yet going home—only in the direction of home. They have to ensure the march of the main convoys.

A bright slice of moon hung over the city cautiously curled up asleep. The sugary heads of snowy peaks were melting in the moonlight. Huge crystal stars besprinkled the dark firmament. It was cold. Soldiers who had not slept their fill huddled up to each other in the bodies of trucks. We briefly exchanged a few words with Captain Mikhail Chizhov, secretary of a Komsomol committee. He was to follow in the convoy's rearguard with Senior Lieutenant Vasilyev's platoon of combat vehicles—behind the technical maintenance echelon. The Komsomol organizer has spent 2 and ½ years in Afghanistan, and he has repeatedly fulfilled similar combat tasks. The Komsomol members like him, and they can go on reconnaissance with him, as they put it.

"My mood?" Mikhail repeated the question. "OK. After all, we will be closer to home tomorrow...."

We could not see Senior Ensign Pavel Kozlov in the column. The previous day we had spent a long time sitting in his fiercely heated little room, "knocking back tea." We talked of the same old thing—home and a meeting with friends and relatives before long. Pavel is the battalion's acting deputy chief of staff. A member of a combat airborne force. He has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner and a "For Bravery" medal. He joined the airborne force after completing his normal period of military service in the border troops. His father Ivan Yevseyevich, an old soldier who participated in the assault on Berlin, is waiting for him at home, in the village of Khaleyevichi in Bryansk Oblast's Novozybkovskiy Rayon. His mother Yevdokiya Semenovna had been waiting too. But she did not live to see the day: Pavel had flown home, for the funeral, on the first "flour" flight. There, by his mother's grave, the senior ensign would meet after a long separation with his brothers Andrey, Nikolay, Aleksey, and Mikhail....

The column set off at precisely 0430 hours. All personnel, with the exception of Sr Ensign P. Kozlov, who was absent with valid cause, set out.

Everything is going to plan. Army Commander Boris Gromov declared at a press conference today that everything will be carried out on schedule, as planned. Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, also told journalists this in Kabul. So wait for your soldiers—they will soon be home. No wonder there are no letters: Everything is on the move, and the military postal service cannot keep up with the addressees.

...A large group of "Afghan" soldiers is on board a heavy airliner. Let's get acquainted. Yuriy Lapshov is returning home to the city of Vidnoye in Moscow Oblast. Two Ivans—Gritsan and Ustyak—are flying to the Ukraine. The former to Transcarpathian Oblast, the latter to Lvov Oblast.

"But first we will stay a while with Yura and familiarize ourselves with our capital, which we have never once visited...."

Aircraft are flying out of Afghanistan with fighters on board. Military convoys are setting out or are on the point of doing so. Going home. To the motherland. Soldiers are returning from war, having done their duty....

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Soviet Officials Discuss Namibia Plan

#### UN Envoy Meets Reporters

*LD3102152289 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] New York January 31 TASS—Permanent representative of the USSR to the United Nations Aleksandr M. Belonogov said on Monday at a meeting with correspondents accredited at the U.N.:

We believe that the Security Council has before itself a very important issue—the question on Namibia. And the position of the Soviet delegation is that we always have to concentrate on the main aspect of the issue. And this aspect is a political one.

The ultimate goal is to secure for the people of Namibia the possibility to exercise their right for self-determination and secure as the result for the people of Namibia a possibility to have really fair and honest elections, which will bring Namibia to a genuine independence. And this goal we should always have in mind. When I say this, I don't want to send a signal that the cost-saving measures are of no importance. No, they are important because we want the operation to really be effective. Effective—it means well funded. I think that the Security Council will come, as the result of the deliberations, to a just solution of this problem. The Soviet delegation will be flexible and constructive.

We recognize the legitimate interest of the Front-line States, of SWAPO [South West Africa People's Association], to know more about the plans of the secretary general as to the implementation of the Resolution 435. We all know the contents of the report of the secretary general. But since it's a complex matter it's natural that some delegations want to know more about how this plan is going to be implemented. And I think this is the major cause of some delay in the deliberations of the Security Council. But I am optimistic. I am absolutely sure that we'll find the solution and it is probably not very far away.

The report of the secretary general constitutes an exceptable [as received] basis for the launching of the U.N. operation in Namibia. But at the same time we recognize that the secretary general should have the freedom of maneuver. I have no doubts that if the secretary general arrives at the conclusion that the number of civilian and military components which are envisaged in his report are not sufficient to provide the adequate presense of the United Nations in Namibia, then, I think, that nobody in the Security Council will raise any objection. Especially since in the report of the secretary general we also have the upper ceiling specifically mentioned. This is the same figure which was mentioned 10 years ago in the report of the secretary general. We, the Soviet delegation, are prepared to be very flexible on this issue.

#### Foreign Ministry Official Comments

*LD2601152589 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 26 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The Soviet Union favours the fulfillment of the main political task of the U.N. plan for Namibia—the effective implementation of the Security Council Resolution 435 on granting genuine independence to Namibia, Vsevolod Oleandrov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Organisations' Directorate, said at a briefing here on Thursday.

He commented on a report on plans to set up a U.N. group to help Namibia over the transitional period and finance U.N. operations in that country, which was presented to the Security Council by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

"The Soviet Union is ready to search for ways to economise on means needed for carrying out U.N. operations in Namibia without lowering the effectiveness of these activities," the Soviet diplomat said. He emphasised the priority importance of the political aspect of U.N. operations in Namibia.

Oleandrov said that the Soviet side hoped that the Security Council members would manage to reach a mutually acceptable agreement and put into effect the U.N. mechanism on carrying out these operations at their current consultations in New York.

### *RSA Arms Production, Export Reviewed

*WA18010360 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 First Edition p 3*

[Article by A. Basov: "For Themselves and for Export"]

[Text] Two mannequins depicting "terrorists" are placing a mine in some plastic bushes. Not far away is the prototype of the armored car of the future, which is intended for putting down "disorder." The holes are sealed so that the tear gas does not penetrate inside, and it has four-wheel drive and air conditioning.... "It has everything," the policeman giving the explanation sums up.

All this could be seen some time ago at an exhibition in Johannesburg. It is as though its visitors recalled: The South African regime is not standing still in the face of a threat from "subversive elements." It is arming itself.

Yes, the aggravation of the political crisis in the Republic of South Africa, the growth of the struggle, particularly armed struggle, against apartheid, is evoking precisely this reaction among the racial minority. Instead of listening to the voice of reason and making gradual changes, Pretoria is "building muscles," hoping to use them to maintain the status quo. Incidentally, until recently its arms were widely used outside the country as well—for keeping the people of occupied Namibia in a state of fear, for permanent aggression against Angola, and for bandit raids against other countries of the "front." Even now that the situation in southwest Africa is changing for the better, in the Republic of South Africa, judging from the communications that are coming from there, they are by no means in any hurry to curtail their military programs.

...When arms control was established in South Africa a little more than 20 years, ago hardly anyone would have guessed that in such a short time the military leadership in the country could change from a dwarf into a giant. But this is exactly what happened. Today the state corporation for the development and production of arms (Armcor) is an entire branch. It has more than 90,000 people working at its own plants and hundreds of associated private enterprises. From their conveyers come practically everything necessary for equipping the Army, security forces, and the police—from rifles to missile systems. Budget allocations for Armcor, according to the figures of the British JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY, amount to 3 billion rands per year. Pretoria began to devote special attention to the corporation after 1977, when the United Nations introduced a mandatory embargo on the delivery of arms and military equipment to the apartheid regime. Certain NATO countries, however, including Israel, are finding loopholes and ways of getting around this. Moreover, one can assert that it is they, through the sale of the corresponding technology and deliveries of experimental models of weapons, who have contributed to the advancement of Armcor.

Be that as it may, the corporation's leadership asserts that the RSA's military industry can now "develop and introduce production of any kind of arms on an international standard." The RSA defense minister, General M. Malan, holds the same opinion. He, like other South African military men, does not conceal his satisfaction when observing the influx into the army of new, modern arms and military equipment. Recently there have been quite a few innovations.

One of them is a self-propelled artillery system with the G-6 wheeled gun carriage. As one can derive from the American magazine NEWSWEEK, the South Africans began to use it in Angola several months before the cease-fire. This 46-ton weapon, notes NEWSWEEK, has a high precision and can hit the target from a distance of up to 40 km.

The Kukri close-range air combat controlled rocket was replaced by the Darter, an improved weapon of the same type. Compared with its predecessor, the new rocket has greater maneuverability and a sensitive infrared self-directing warhead.

Among Armcor's other innovations is the Seeker reconnaissance aircraft with remote control, the Krimpvark armored personnel carrier, and the Atlas Beta helicopter. They have announced the beginning of production of the Ruikat light tank. It is to be available for use in the second half of 1989. Weighing 27 tons, the Ruikat will be able to accelerate up to 120 km per hour. A significant detail: As the commander of the RSA infantry, Gen A. Libenberg, announced, the new machine was created "especially for military actions on enemy territory."

As we can see, the RSA military industry is in full-scale operation. Yet the demands of the military are growing. The Air Force command hopes to receive a domestically produced fighter. Armcor will probably fill this order as well—with the assistance of Israeli specialists. This secret was revealed by the Johannesburg newspaper STAR. It also carried an interview with the editor of the aviation division of JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY, N. Cook, who suggested that the South African jet fighter would be in the air within 8-10 years.

I would like to draw attention to another fact of no small importance. As its capacities increase, Armcor is more and more actively invading the foreign market. Since 1982 it has participated in arms exhibitions abroad, using them, like their articles in specialized foreign publications, to advertise their products. At the last of them, held in Chile, about 150 models of South African arms and military equipment were shown.

The business has certainly been successful. The South African military expert (Kh.-R. Kheytman), having analyzed the corresponding data, came, for example, to the following conclusion: The RSA is already among the 10 largest arms exporters in the world. The bulletin (SAUTSKEN) which is published in London, points out that the deliveries of arms and military equipment abroad are currently the third most important, after gold and coal, in South African exports. It also informs us that last year, for example, 23 countries purchased Armcor products. Although these transactions, most of which were apparently concluded through intermediaries, were kept secret (the UN has banned the import of arms from the RSA), several of Pretoria's partners are known: The foreign press has frequently named as recipients of South African weapons Chile, Paraguay, Israel, and Taiwan....

Arms trade is a profitable business. Last year military deliveries abroad brought the RSA $900 million. This year, as Armcor President J. van Fuuren estimates, their turnover will amount to $1.2 billion. But what about morality and international law? "Neither we nor our clients are bothered by sanctions or bans," they candidly state in the corporation headquarters. "For a good product you will always find a customer." And the quality of the Armcor "product," insofar as one can judge, is indeed high. But the quality of the business it is doing is clearly questionable.

## East Europe

### Hungarian Officials, Soviet Envoy on Troop Cut

*PM0202103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch under the general heading "On Military Matters"]

[Text]

**Hungary's Decision**

Budapest—A news conference was held at the Soviet Science and Culture Center in Budapest on Tuesday that clarified questions connected with the upcoming partial withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary.

Incidentally, literally the day before, Hungary's political and military leadership adopted a decision to cut the country's Armed Forces by almost 9 percent, or more precisely 8.8 percent, without waiting for the opening of negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. According to F. Karpati, Hungarian defense minister, the cuts will affect 9,300 servicemen, most of them enlisted men, plus 2,100 senior and junior officers. It has also been decided to cut 251 tanks, 30 armored personnel carriers, 430 artillery pieces of various types, and 9 fighter-interceptor aircraft. Tank brigades and fighter aircraft squadrons will be dismantled.

B.I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to Hungary, said at the news conference that the objective and complete representation of the correlation of forces of the two military-political alliances in Europe as published in the statement of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters" will become an essential prerequisite for strengthening peace and security on the continent, especially on the eve of the talks on conventional armed forces due to open soon. The ambassador drew journalists' attention to the fact that the announced reduction of the Soviet Army by 500,000 men is comparable to the numerical strength of the entire Bundeswehr.

In accordance with the USSR's decision, Colonel General M.P. Burlakov, commander of the Southern Group of Forces, declared that a total of 22 Soviet units, including a full tank division (13 units), an assault battalion, a fighter aircraft regiment, and a chemical defense battalion will leave Hungarian territory as of May 1989. The cuts apply to 450 tanks, more than 200 guns and mortars, 3,000 trucks, and other hardware.

As for the military installations being left behind by the Soviet units, some of them will, in the very near future, be turned over to the Hungarian side, in M.P. Burlakov's words. It is a question of a total of 40 installations (barracks, mess halls, storage facilities) and almost 900 apartments with a total value of R38 million.

Replying to questions about the possibility of a complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary in the future, USSR Ambassador to Hungary B.I. Stukalin said that as long as military blocs exist, a military presence in specific countries will also be maintained. Real progress in this direction can clearly be expected from the talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, which are due to open soon.

### MSZMP History Committee Reviews 1956 Events

*LD0102000889 Moscow TASS in English 2203 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest January 31 TASS—Imre Pozsgay, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, state minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, gave an interview to Hungarian radio in connection with a recent meeting of a subcommittee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee on historic questions. He noted, specifically, that the subcommittee, basing itself on contemporary research, views what happened in 1956 as a popular uprising, an uprising against an oligarchic form of power, humiliating to the nation.

He said that final appraisals of historic events cannot be made even after a passage of time. If one relies on facts, one should take into consideration also the facts that might possibly be established later. Politics, historical science and public opinion are combined in such historic appraisals. The assessment of the 1956 events as counter-revolution reflects the feelings of the public and of the large part of party members, but on the basis of the research carried out today such an appraisal is not precise.

Addressing a meeting of the Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber, Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, dwelt on the appraisal made by the working subcommittee formed by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and analysing the past 40 years.

"If we wish to learn the lessons of the past, we should bear in mind that a big mistake is made when extraordinarily complex historic phenomena or processes are summed up in one word", Nemeth said. "Such an approach leads to still bigger mistakes. Historic events are never unequivocal, so the events of October 1956 can really be characterised by most contradictory notions", he said.

"In such appraisals there is room for a notion of a popular uprising, just as for a terrorist mutiny which was directed against socialism and which led to a national tragedy. The beginning of these events was quite different from their end. It should not be tolerated that the process of revealing errors and rehabilitation be turned into political campaigns splitting the Hungarian society", Nemeth said. "Political destabilisation can cause an economic collapse and national catastrophe", he said.

"When we are saying that the lessons of four decades should be considered from scientific positions, we mean also reappraisal of things", Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Party Central Committee, told reporters. "However, it is impossible to know in advance what political conclusions will be drawn from scientific appraisals, for political conclusions are made not by one person, not by a commission, but by the Central Committee. The Central Committee should discuss this question. Various political conclusions must apparently be made on the strength of scientific results, but this debate is yet ahead".

Appearing on Hungarian television on Monday, Grosz said that this question is of scientific nature at present. First it is necessary to analyse the past decades, in which the events of 1956 were just one instance, however not unimportant and not secondary, but still not equal to the 40, or the past 30 or 15 years of Hungary's history. Hence the past 40 years should be analysed and a programme for 15-20 years should be worked out on the basis of this analysis. The commission should complete this work by the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

## Spokesman Announces Reburials in Nagy Case

*PM0102150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "According to the Principle of Humanity"]

[Text] Budapest, 27 Jan—At a news conference held here Thursday for Hungarian and foreign journalists on the results of a Hungarian Council of Ministers session, Government Spokesman G. Marosan reported that the government had discussed, in particular, questions connected with the reburial in a city cemetery of persons sentenced to death in the case of Imre Nagy and his accomplices, and in connection with the counterrevolutionary events following 23 October 1956.

The government spokesman emphasized that by adopting this decision, the government has fulfilled the request of relatives and friends of those sentenced. The purpose of this step is to demonstrate humane principles and promote the process of public reconciliation.

## Gdansk Situation, Walesa's Status Viewed

*PM3101145189 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 4, 28 Jan-3 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 26 Jan 89) pp 6-7*

[Report by special correspondents V.Voytenko and A. Uglanov: "Finishing What Has Been Started"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

### At the Gdansk Shipyard

In recent months Western radio stations have made frequent references to the Gdansk shipyard and striking workers. As we drove up to the city, we expected to see protesters, grim-faced workers, and columns of helmeted militiamen. Reality proved different.

Life in this very beautiful city on the Baltic coast, with hundreds of various traditional houses under tiled roofs, churches, and modern hotels is following its course. Hundreds of stores are open, and there are many tourists in the streets.

Workers are coming out the gate of the Lenin shipyard. They walk past the monument in the form of three towering crosses on which anchors hang as if crucified. At this spot 28 workers died during a strike in 1970.

Fortunately, this kind of tragedy has never repeated itself.

Whatever happens, none of the 8,000 workers still working at the shipyard will be "thrown out." All will be offered vacancies, of which there are around 30,000 in Gdansk.

We were told by W. Garstka, Polish deputy minister of internal affairs in charge of relations with the press, that anything negative concerning militia workers is made public. This was the case quite recently when two drunken guardians of law and order entered the St Brygida Church and discredited the authorities in the eyes of the believers. They have been sacked and may go to prison.

Recently there has again been much talk about Lech Walesa, the leader of "Solidarity" who continues to work as an electrician at the shipyard.

He has a special staff for contacts with the press as well as a bodyguard. In addition, we were told by Captain Deptula, he is being guarded by the militia—to forestall provocations. Walesa has his opponents, including within "Solidarity," who criticize him, claiming that his views have recently become more liberal. Later, back in Warsaw at the Academy of Social Sciences, lecturer J. Kolczynski confirmed that Walesa has indeed changed. "Talking to him is not easy, but he is one of the few people in the entire opposition with whom one can reach a sensible compromise during a discussion. Over the past 8 years he has grown intellectually. Now he himself must grapple with the extremists in the ranks of the opposition." [passage omitted]

### 1989 Oil Contract Signed With Poland

*LD2701020589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 26 Jan 89*

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (TASS)—Stanislaw Amanowicz, Polish deputy minister for foreign economic cooperation, has called a trade contract with the USSR for the delivery of 15 million tonnes of oil and oil products in 1989 an example of dependable partnership. He made this statement during the ceremony today to sign the document between the Soyuznefte Eksport and Ciechpetrolimpex associations. Under the contract, various spheres of the national economy of the fraternal country will receive gasoline, mazut, diesel fuel, other kinds of oil products, as well as crude oil for the chemical industry.

The USSR—the main exporter of fuel and energy resources to Poland on a long-term contractual basis—covers 80 percent of the requirements of its national economy. The current state of the world market is taken into account. In particular, the price of a tonne of oil was markedly lower this year for consumers within the CEMA framework. An important advantage of importing oil is the minimal expenditures on transportation. The Druzhba oil pipeline, which was jointly equipped, works year-round without interruption.

### Historians Meet on Soviet-Polish Relations

*PM0102113789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Polonist Historians Conference"]

[Text] An All-Union Polonist Historians Conference has been held in Moscow. It discussed topical tasks of studying the history of Poland and Russo-Polish and Soviet-Polish relations stemming from the Soviet-Polish declaration signed 21 April 1987 by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski.

The conference demonstrated our country's unremitting interest in Polish historical problems and our desire to raise politically and scientifically topical problems, analyze traditional ideas and concepts on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology, and abandon dogmatic stereotypes and ideological cliches that have failed the test of time.

The participants in the conference noted that it will help broaden the study of Polish history and Soviet-Polish relations and coordinate the efforts of scientists from various regions of the country. The recommendations adopted stress the need to increase attention to the training of young research cadres and to be more active in broadening the archive base for scientific work, deepening cooperation with Polish colleagues, holding broad scientific debates, and publishing monographic studies and documents.

### Medvedev Receives Bulgarian Journalists

*PM0102112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4*

["Own information" report: "PRAVDA's Guests"]

[Text] R. Radev, member of the BCP Central Committee and chief editor of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO, and G. Arabadzhiev, his first deputy, have been in Moscow at the invitation of PRAVDA's editorial board. The guests familiarized themselves with PRAVDA's activity in covering the progress of restructuring in our country and problems of contemporary international life, and also spoke about the work of the collective of RABOTNICHESKO DELO journalists, who are actively involved in the processes of the renewal of Bulgarian society. The Bulgarian journalists also visited the newspapers SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and IZVESTIYA, TASS, and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

Yesterday RABOTNICHESKO DELO's leaders were received by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

### Trade Protocol Signed With Romania

*LD2201152489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 89*

[Text] A Romanian-Soviet protocol has been signed in Bucharest on trade turnover and payments for 1989. It will contribute to the practical implementation of provisions in the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Romania up to the year 2000. The document provides for an increase over the past year in the volume of reciprocal supplies of goods.

### CPCZ Delegation Discusses Economic Cooperation

*PM0102144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] A delegation of CPCZ party workers headed by K. Erbes, chief of the CPCZ Central Committee Party Work in Industry Department, visited the Soviet Union 23-27 January. The delegation participated in the work of a seminar of directors of Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises on questions of enhancing the efficiency of new forms of economic cooperation in the sphere of machine building for light industry and the food industry.

The Czechoslovak comrades had meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department and the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and visited enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad. There was an exchange of opinions on party work methods under conditions of restructuring the leadership of the economy.

## West Europe

### Gerasimov Arrives in Ankara on Visit to Turkey
*LD0102152789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Ankara, 1 Feb (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, official representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived here today as an official guest of the Turkish Foreign Ministry. He will meet with Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz and State Ministers Adnan Kahveci and Mehmet Yazar. These meetings will focus on questions of bilateral relations and regional problems.

The Turkish press attaches great significance to the consultations between the Soviet representative and senior Turkish figures, noting that his visit, which is taking place in a period of dynamic development in Soviet-Turkish relations, will be a new contribution to strengthening ties between the two neighboring countries.

### 'New Quality' Marks USSR-UK Ties
*LD0102211189 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The 65th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Britain on February 2 is being observed as dialogue between the two countries has acquired a new and positive dynamism under the impact of perestroyka and new political thinking in Soviet foreign policy.

Obviously, Britain has an own interest in Soviet perestroyka. Decades of military-political confrontation with the Soviet Union did not bring it political dividends, while doing substantial harm to its commercial and econmic interests. The country's security amid the nuclear arms race came into jeopardy as well.

The new quality of Soviet-British political dialogue largely stems from bilateral summits and exchanges of messages between the leaders of the two countries, which set its direction and tone.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher have met thrice: in London in December 1984, in Moscow in the spring of 1987 and in Brize Norton in December 1987.

Interest in both the USSR and Britain is running high in another summit which has been put off temporarily due to the tragic earthquake in Armenia and since been slated for next April.

Over the past few years the USSR and Britain signed a number of important bilateral agreements in such new and promising areas of cooperation as space research, the drive against drug trafficking, culture and education, people-to-people contacts and information exchanges.

The Soviet Union is satisfied to note a certain rapprochement of the problems of the two countries on a number of international problems. It has been facilitated in a measure by the flexible British stand on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, on the destruction of chemical weapons and on the strengthening of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

The two countries have narrowed differences also on ways to settle regional conflicts and develop the CSCE process, including its humanitarian aspects.

There is every ground for continuing intensive bilateral dialogue for broader interaction in resolving problems of arms and troops cuts in Europe, an early convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, and regional settlements.

It is essential to raise mutually beneficial trade, economic, scientific, cultural and humanitarian relations to a drastically higher level.

### French Industry Minister on Cooperation
*LD0102000789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—I think that by the time Mikhail Gorbachev pays another visit to France, bilateral economic, scientific, and technological ties will have developed further," French Minister of Industry and Land Management Roger Fauroux stated in an interview with a TASS correspondent. He was here at the invitation of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

"During my visit to the USSR, two new agreements on cooperation with Soviet partners were signed," the minister reported. "The first of these expands and supplements the existing USSR-France cooperation agreement on the peaceful use of atomic energy; the second pertains to medical research."

"During the talks with Soviet partners, significant attention was devoted to prospects of cooperation between the USSR and Western European countries in creating higher resolution TV systems," stated the minister. "I hope that in the nearest future Soviet organizations will decide which of the competing systems they prefer." The area of joint enterpreneurship with the participation of firms and organizations from both countries will be developed further, said Roger Fauroux.

The first Soviet-French enterprise, "Tekhnikord," started production yesterday. It manufactures chemical agents for the heat treatment of working surfaces of mechanical parts. "During the visit, the French businessmen accompanying me put forward new proposals to set up joint production capacities with Soviet partners, particularly in the area of light industry," Roger Fauroux said. "What is also important is the fact that French industry is ready to organize on-the-job training for the Soviet personnel of such enterprises."

The minister termed the use of the French-developed methods of construction to rebuild the destroyed regions of Armenia, the automation of Soviet savings banks, and the working out of new technological processes for recovery of metals as "new and very promising directions of cooperation."

### Analyst on Swedish Allegations on Submarines

*LD0102210289 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

"Soviet submarines near the Swedish coasts? Not again", the reader might exclaim. Yes, indeed, the traces of these mythical submarines secretly penetrating Swedish fjords were discovered this time by Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish Navy Vice-Admiral Bengt Schuback. "Swedish waters are violated by Soviet submarines", he declared at a conference of "People and Defences" organization.

It stands to reason that the admiral's "discovery" has not made a stir. And this is not surprising as such "discoveries" had been announced in Sweden earlier, but a closer look "Soviet submarines" invariably turned out to be only newspaper canards. There was an occasion when the bombing with depth charges of a mysterious "mini-submarine" allegedly lurking on the seabed was launched on the initiative of the Swedish naval force. It turned out however that what the Swedish naval force was assiduously bombing were just two underwater stones. Quite naturally, even representatives of the Swedish Armed Forces, among them Chief of the Staff of Defence Torsten Engberg, are skeptical about Admiral Schuback's assertions. But as reports of the Swedish Telegraph Bureau show, the overly vigilant admiral keeps on talking about "Soviet submarines". Why?

The answer is apparently simple. The positive changes now taking place in Europe and in the whole world, the intensification of the processes aimed at the lowering of the level of military confrontation, at curbing the arms race, cut the ground from under the feet of those, also in Sweden, who would like to place the emphasis on a strong defence, who would like to build up, not reduce, the military spending. So they look for "argumentation" by which they could justify this course. But apparently their imagination cannot go further than hackneyed allegations about "Soviet submarines".

The Soviet-Swedish relations are truly goodneighbourly relations which are developing successfully. What is the purpose of the allegations about "submarines" that are repeated in Sweden from time to time? In any case, they do not go together with the principles of goodneighbourliness....

### Swede Arrested for Drug Trafficking in Moscow

*LD0102214389 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] We begin in Moscow, where a Swedish man is under arrest for drug smuggling. Narcotics officers from Sweden and Swedish prosecutors are in Moscow to participate in the interrogation, for this is unique cooperation with the police authorities in the Soviet Union, reports Kjell-Albin Abrahamsson from Moscow:

[Abrahamsson] The 31-year-old resident of Eskilstuna smuggled heroin in condoms which he had inserted in his rectum. One condom burst open, and the 31-year-old was taken off the plane unconscious after an immediate landing here in Moscow on 10 January, and thus the crime was discovered. This is the second time within a short period that this kind of drug smuggling has been uncovered here in Moscow. In December last year a 35-year-old Swedish woman was sentenced to three years in a labor camp for a similar crime. For some time the KGB has dealt with drug smuggling, and it is concerned over this type of drug trafficking. The 35-year-old Swedish woman, who had not been sentenced for anything previously, received the most lenient sentence providced by law—3 years in a labor camp—but the 31-year-old now under arrest can expect a much heavier sentence, partly because he is known to the Swedish police, and partly to put an end to the drug smuggling via the Soviet Union.

Despite the fact that there is no cooperation agreement between Swedish and Soviet authorities, two Swedish narcotics officers and a Swedish district prosecutor have been able to question the Swede. This represents unique cooperation which has, among other things, led to the arrest in Sweden of two of the 31-year-old's accomplices.

### Scientists, FRG Greens Discuss Nuclear Power

*PM0102171789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "This Concerns People"]

[Text] Bonn, 31 Jan—A joint news conference was given here today by prominent members of the Green Party and a group of Soviet scientists led by Academician I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee. The meeting with representatives of the press was dedicated to the results of a scientific seminar on the problems of nuclear power, which was held over the course of several days in the Lower Saxony Castle of Gerthe. The seminar has drawn the attention of the West German public, press, and political circles. It was organized as part of an accord between the Green Party and the CPSU.

The discussion at Gerthe dealt with topical problems of concern to people not only in our two countries but throughout the world. This is the first time in Soviet-West German dialogue that there has been such an extensive, in-depth comparison of opinions and information concerning, for example, the effects of weak radioactive emissions, the reliability of nuclear reactors, the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, and the development of alternative energy sources.

As is well known, the Green Party favors a complete rejection of the use of nuclear power. The seminar participants did not agree on this point. But their unity on the question of the need to eliminate all nuclear weapons on earth was reaffirmed.

The two sides admitted that the discussion had been interesting and useful. It was decided to continue it at a seminar in Moscow.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Upcoming Gorbachev Visit to Cuba Viewed

*PA0102235289 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 30 Jan 89*

[Commentary by Viktor Antilov]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev will visit Cuba in early April. The visit, which had been scheduled for December, had to be postponed because of the tragic Armenian earthquake. Millions of friends of Cuba in the Soviet Union never doubted that the visit would take place very soon, however. This is only natural because the Soviet leader's meeting with Cuban leader Fidel Castro will be of great importance to the two countries. Cuba supports Soviet initiatives to strengthen peace. This is what Jorge Risquet, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, said in Moscow on 29 January:

[Begin recording] Gorbachev's specific proposals could lead to the elimination of nuclear, chemical, and other weapons of mass destruction. It is necessary to maintain the political will and persistence to completely destroy all of these weapons. Because this requires time, every measure, such as limiting or even banning nuclear tests, establishing nuclear-free zones, and various other control mechanisms should be implemented to preclude the possibility of an accidental nuclear war caused by human or computer error. [end recording]

The positions of the Soviet Union and Cuba on current issues are similar. This alone will ensure the success of Gorbachev's visit to Cuba. The two countries also hold similar views on the Third World's foreign debt, and Gorbachev's latest remarks on Cuba's support for peace efforts have brought the two countries even closer together.

Finally, we hope Gorbachev's visit to Cuba will help improve bilateral economic cooperation. Bilateral trade has nearly tripled in the past decade. The objective now is to increase economic cooperation between the two countries and adapt this cooperation to the demands of scientific and technical progress. This topic will be at the top of the agenda in conversations with Castro during Gorbachev's visit to Cuba.

### Improved U.S.-Nicaragua Relations in Prospect

*PM0102163089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS correspondent I. Pshenichnikov special report for IZVESTIYA: "Nicaragua-United States: Key to Resolving the Conflict"]

[Text] Managua—When John Leonard, U.S. charge d'affaires in Nicaragua, emerged from the reception room at the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, you would have guessed from the expression on the American diplomat's face that he had received some pleasant and unexpected news.

However, the journalists who swamped him with questions heard the traditional, meaningless phrase: "We discussed problems of mutual interest." The disappointment that gripped the representatives of the press was dispelled 5 minutes later when Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto held a news conference and announced steps being taken by the Sandinist government with a view to improving relations with the United States.

On the day George Bush was sworn in as U.S. President in Washington, in Managua John Leonard was informed of the Nicaraguan Government's decision immediately to grant visas to nine American diplomats to work at the U.S. Embassy in Managua. Moreover the government of the republic, guided by good will and the desire to normalize bilateral relations, lifted the rule it had imposed earlier whereby a 15-day period was set for the issuing of such visas.

Relations between Managua and Washington fell to their lowest level last July, when the Sandinist government was forced to declare U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton persona non grata for activity not compatible with his diplomatic status. Melton, in particular, called openly for the overthrow of the legitimate government of Nicaragua and originated a plan to destabilize the situation in the country with the help of the right-wing opposition. Seven more American diplomats were directly involved in anti-Nicaraguan activity, two of them taking part in an antigovernment demonstration in the city of Nandaime on 10 July. The Sandinist authorities then told a total of eight U.S. Embassy staffers to leave the country.

Official Nicaraguan spokesmen made no secret of the fact that after the U.S. presidential election Managua was carefully watching the statements of the newly elected head of the White House. Naturally they could not fail to notice Bush's statements that he intends to place emphasis on achieving "political solutions" in Nicaragua instead of continuing the war against that country through the contras. Bush also recently declared his readiness to resume American-Nicaraguan talks.

Of course, it does not follow from this that the new U.S. President intends to abandon all forms of pressure on Nicaragua. By all appearances President Bush is only rejecting active military-financial support for the contras, who are totally demoralized and have not represented a threat to the government since the beginning of last year. However, local observers see behind the new U.S. President's words about "political solutions" in Nicaragua an intention to continue to put pressure on the Sandinist government through the political opposition, which enjoys U.S. financial and moral support.

The opinions of Nicaraguan politicians on this matter are contradictory. For instance, Mauricio Diaz, secretary general of the opposition Social Christian Popular Party of Nicaragua, told journalists: "The fact that Bush is a pragmatist does not mean he intends to resume talks with the Sandinist government quickly." Luis Sanchez, one of the leaders of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, believes that "the new U.S. Administration simply does not yet have a specific program of action with regard to Nicaragua." Be that as it may, the U.S. Nicaraguan strategy under President Bush could depart from the openly hostile policy of the former administration.

The normalization of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations was and is the key to resolving the entire Central American conflict. The Nicaraguan Government has demonstrated its sincere desire to live in peace with the United States, backing this up with practical actions. It is up to Washington now.

### Ortega Calls for 'Relaxation of Tension'

*LD0102144889 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Caracas February 1 Tass—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, in an interview with Venezuelan newspaper EL NACIONAL, said that fifty four thousand citizens of the Republic have been killed, wounded or injured in the past eight years as a result of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. Material damage inflicted upon the country is estimated at over 12,000 million dollars.

The forthcoming Caracas meeting of Central American heads of state, now arriving in Venezuela for the presidential inauguration ceremony, will lend fresh impetus to compliance with the Guatemala accords on a peace settlement of the conflict in Central America. This will patently illustrate to the new U.S. Administration that the Central American peoples are striving for a relaxation of tension in the region, the solution of conflicts by political, not military, means. The whole of the international community can make its contribution to the consolidation of these processes, said the Nicaraguan leader.

Daniel Ortega said that his government would continue strengthening democracy in Nicaragua. This will be promoted by the general elections due to be held in November 1990. All opposition parties have the right to appoint their representatives to the supreme electoral council to observe compliance with the constitutional guarantees, the president stressed.

### Nicaraguan Government Extends 'Unilateral Truce'

*LD0102113689 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Managua February 1 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government extended the unilateral truce on Tuesday. The Sandinista People's Army will not resume hostilities against the armed opposition until February 28.

A government communique issued here said that this move by the Nicaraguan authorities reflected the spirit of the Guatemala agreement designed to establish peace in Central America as well as peace agreements reached by the Sandinista government and armed opposition leaders in Sapoa, Nicaragua, last March.

This extension of the unilateral truce is aimed at achieving final ceasefire in Nicaragua. The government is giving counterrevolution another opporunity to cease the armed struggle and participate in building a peaceful way of life in Nicaragua, the communique says.

## Political & Social

### Sciences Academy Protests Candidate Selection

*LD0202130989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1244 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow, 2 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov reports:

Dissatisfaction with the results of the selection of candidates for USSR people's deputies held on 18 January at the USSR Academy of Sciences was heard today in speeches by participants in a demonstration by scientists outside the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium building. The demonstration was given official permission by the city authorities. According to observers, several hundred people took part.

The demonstration organizers told a TASS correspondent that they consider the selection to be "undemocratic." They explain this by the fact that as a result of the voting, of the 126 standing for 20 seats, only 23 people received the necessary number of votes. In their view, insufficient votes were gained by such eminent scientists as academicians Roald Sagdeyev, Andrey Sakharov, and Tatyana Zaslavskaya. "We believe this happened because it was only representatives of the leadership of the academy who voted," one of the demonstration organizers said.

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent, Vladimir Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, recalled that 126 candidates were nominated by the institutes and scientific establishments of the academy. Among the almost 200 scientists who took part in the elections, there were only about 30 Presidium members. For this reason "to speak today about distrust toward those elected—is at the least, discourteous."

Academician Andrey Sakharov was among the demonstrators. In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he remarked: "Today's event shows that democratization and restructuring in our country really are developing, not only in the academy, but also throughout the country. This instills hope for the success of restructuring." He said that he "was not directly involved" in the organization of today's demonstration.

Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences was in his office in the Presidium building during the demonstration. He told a TASS correspondent that the resolution handed in by the demonstrators will be discussed at an Academy presidium meeting to be held next Tuesday.

### Academy Conclusions 'Radical'

*PM0102141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by A. Pokrovskiy: "Academy-Style Passions"]

[Text] I must admit that at a first reading I did not understand the logic of the letter. Nor on the second reading, for that matter. Yet it drew extremely radical conclusions:

"...We resolutely protest the decision made by the Academy of Sciences presidium and the selection of candidates carried out under its leadership. The scientific collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute deems it necessary to recognize as invalid the list of 23 candidates selected 18 January; to carry out, at a conference of USSR Academy of Sciences delegates, a new selection of candidates, taking into account the support they have received from various organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, or to hold elections of USSR people's deputies at a conference from all the candidates examined 18 January and not nominated from other public organizations or territorial or national okrugs.

"Adopted at a general expanded meeting of the collective of scientific workers of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute 20 January 1989."

For all my desire to render immediate assistance to the collective of the respected and large academy institution in its quest for justice, my first impulse was stopped by the less than comprehensible justification for these demands: "The 18 January meeting of the Academy of Sciences leadership ignored the opinion of nearly half the employees of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the list of 23 candidates did not include scientists with an impressive and constructive civic stance, in particular A.D. Sakharov, R.Z. Sagdeyev, T.I. Zaslavskaya, and others. This was the result of the antidemocratic procedure for the selection of candidates adopted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. The Academy of Sciences which, by virtue of its spirit of scientific quest, should have adopted the most progressive stances, has on this occasion been captive to the old system of leadership which took shape back in Stalin's time."

... But I was at that session, officially termed an expanded plenum of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, in which, in addition to the presidium members, its advisers and members of the academy department bureaus—over 200 people in all—took part. You must agree that it is not that easy to push such a number of people grown wise with experience onto the path of "antidemocratic procedures," if someone had wanted to do so. But in my view Academician V. Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of State and Law, who chaired the session, conducted it in a way that was simply brilliant from the legal viewpoint. Not a single rejoinder from the auditorium was left unheeded and not a single comment or proposal (and Academician A.D. Sakharov alone asked to speak 13 times) was accepted or rejected without discussion and a vote, without relying on the Law on Elections, which the chairman constantly had at hand. Some 90 minutes of broad and free and consequently democratic discussion centered on procedural questions alone.

I think readers will be curious to learn what postulates, so to speak, were defined for voting: a) proceed from the "presumption of trust" in the candidates nominated by the collectives of the academy institutes and thus at the session hear only statements of elimination or resignation (for a fuller acquaintance with the candidates an intermission was announced and the session participants were issued with descriptions of the candidates compiled by the organizations which had nominated them); b) be in no hurry to remove from the list a candidate who is not sufficiently well known to the voter, because nearly 2 months remain until the final decision is made at a general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In brief, the atmosphere at this juncture of the session was not only entirely democratic but also, I would say, amicable. For instance, the meeting asked for the repeal of the resignation of Academician A. Gaponov-Grekhov, director of the Gorkiy Institute of Applied Physics. Anticipating, I will say that after voting he remained on the list of candidates. Academician V. Kotelnikov, chairman of the academy election commission, considered it his duty to acquaint those assembled with the candidates who were submitted in violation of the set deadline. Some of them were also included on the lists for voting. As a result there were 126 people for 25 seats on the list.

Something a little "shocking," as scientific circles like to put it, came when the results of the vote were read. Only 23 candidates had collected the necessary number of votes to continue the election struggle. I shall not venture to judge what had an impact here—whether it was the academicians' high degree of exactingness with regard to their future elected representatives or—why try to conceal it—the chronic habit, when voting for academicians or approving dissertations, not to enter into debate but to voice one's opinion with a vote against. This was once a powerful weapon for the scientists, making it possible to restrict the influx of high-ranking ignoramuses into their ranks or to defend the persecuted, as was the case with A.D. Sakharov. We can only speculate as to whether it is necessary to resort to this method under present conditions and whether the academicians did resort to it in this case. But perhaps the authors of the letter to the Central Electoral Commission, the USSR Academy of Sciences Electoral Commission, and the PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA editorial offices with which this story began have additional information which will make it possible to rule out speculation?

I telephoned Professor V. Moroz, who signed the letter, and asked for a meeting with him and any representative of the Space Research Institute who wanted to take part in the talk, and at the same time I asked for permission to familiarize myself with the meeting protocol. Vasiliy Ivanovich came with V. Linkin, a member of an organizing group. Which group he did not see fit to specify, and I did not consider it possible to ask. I immediately turned to the protocol and immediately got stuck. The document was not big—just one small typewritten page—so I wanted to quote it as fully as possible.

"Protocol of the conference of the labor collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, 20 January 1989. There are 1,420 people in the Space Research Institute collective. There are 236 representatives with the right to take part. There were 210 people at the meeting...."

I did not manage to get a clear answer regarding the principle whereby people in the Space Research Institute are divided into those "with the right to take part in the conference of the labor (!) collective" and those "who do not have the right." In any event, V. Linkin said, everyone who wanted to and who had been given prior notice could attend the meeting. Never mind, either not everyone wanted to go or not everyone had been notified. But is it then democratic for one-sixth of the collective to speak on behalf of the entire collective and to attach the seal of the entire institute to their document?

"Well, the meeting's secretary, Ye. Churilova, put the seal on for us so there should be no doubt as to the authenticity of the signatures and the opinion of the remaining Space Research Institute employees could also be found out...."

Of course it would have been better to find it out first. Never mind, let's not be formal. We then read: "Agenda: 1) On elections of candidate USSR people's deputies from the USSR Academy of Sciences. We heard: a) Comrade V.M. Balebanov, deputy director of the institute, on the progress of the election campaign and elections of candidate USSR people's deputies from the USSR Academy of Sciences; b) Comrade V.V. Kerzhanovich, doctor of physicomathematical sciences, read out a draft letter...."

"Was Balebanov or any of the meeting's participants at the Academy of Sciences Presidium session?" I asked.

"No one was there, but there has been considerable talk about it both in our institute and in other institutes...."

Yes, it is true that there has been a lot of talk, and many protests of various kinds are reaching the newspaper editorial offices and the electoral commissions. But let's look at the facts on which the authors of the letter rely. "Scientists with an impressive and constructive civic stance, in particular A.D. Sakharov, R.Z. Sagdeyev, T.I. Zaslavskaya, and others" were not chosen. But T. Zaslavskaya sent a written resignation to the Academy of Sciences Presidium—she wanted to stand on another list. As for A. Sakharov, whose name was cited at other electoral meetings, he and R. Sagdeyev have not been registered as candidate deputies for national and territorial okrugs.

Next. "To lend a semblance of competitiveness, by a subsequent decision the Academy of Sciences Presidium of its own accord reduced representation from the USSR Academy of Sciences by five seats." Why a semblance? There will now be 23 candidates standing for 20 seats, and that means there will be the opportunity to choose.

And these five seats were not lost to the academy. For instance, Academicians N. Bekhtereva, T. Zaslavskaya, O. Gazenko, and A. Yanshin and corresponding members B. Lomov, V. Kotlyakov, G. Shakhnazarov, V. Shumnyy, and A. Yablokov have been nominated by scientific societies and associations attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences for the seats passed on to them.

I told my visitors about all this and reminded them that "an antidemocratic procedure for selecting candidates" was, at any rate, not discovered by the numerous journalists who attended the expanded presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and reported publicly about it. In response I heard:

"That's very interesting, we did not know this; we were in a hurry to voice our opinion, and hence the blunders over the facts. But it's still unfair that they did not listen to the voice of the grassroots institutions...."

"But the 23 candidates remaining on the list were also nominated from the academy 'grassroots.' Or do you think that unworthy people ended up on the list?"

No, they do not think that. Nonetheless they continue to assert that there was some pressure during the voting. It is true that they cannot cite facts.

I look at my interlocutors in bewilderment. I have known them for a long time, have frequently interviewed them and prepared their articles for PRAVDA as knowledgeable, experienced, and, let me add, meticulous specialists. On many occasions I have been struck by their scrupulous responsibility in checking information coming in from hundreds of millions of miles away in space and their comprehensively considered approach toward scientific interpretation of data on the life of distant planets. But what about here, not only on their own planet, but in their very own academy, their own institute? Or do no laws exist in public life? Yet the facts set forth in the letter simply evaporate after the most elementary check, at the same time corroding the missive's civic enthusiasm.

So what is the fallout? Resentment, undoubtedly. Of course you feel resentful when it seems to you that someone has underestimated the worth of a candidate you have nominated. But again, why did this happen—was it a failure of yours, of the candidate, or of the voter? Perhaps we should not put the blame solely on the latter. And another thing: Perhaps the situation was aggravated by other topics of mutual relations between the rank-and-file employees of academy institutions and the academy's "upper echelons." But here we again enter the field of speculation and, as Academician Ya. Zeldovich, one of the major staffers at the Space Research Institute, once said, "we run the risk of turning from science to shrugging...."

One of my most memorable impressions of my visits to the Space Research Institute has been my acquaintance with its computer center. Intelligent machines are programmed there, using intelligent plans, to remove from useful signals the electromagnetic disturbances—the "noises" as the specialists put it—which these signals develop during their journey through space. Similar adhesive "noises" accompany the facts of our public life. And here any computer is powerless. Moreover, since the time of stagnation we have been inclined to put greater faith in rumors than in facts purged of rumors. There is also the dizziness from the fresh air of democracy—I can listen to whom I want and say what I want. Science knows that correct conclusions cannot be drawn from unreliable facts. Yet the same is also true of public life....

## Election of People's Deputies Examined

### *Poll Reveals Voting Preferences

*WA18120054 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 3, 22-29 Jan 89 p 8*

[Article by Yevgeny Andryushchenko, doctor of philosophy: "Whom Will The Electorate Follow"]

[Text] The current election campaign is quite short, as is the period for nomination of candidates to people's deputies of the USSR from 26 December to 24 January 1989. It falls on the New Year holidays, there are exams at institutions of higher learning and student and school vacations. All of this markedly distracts millions of people from taking an active part in social affairs. But the coming elections—though the first under the new system—will be of fundamental importance: the composition of people's deputies of the USSR will be the first success or the first failure of a major element of the new political system.

It is impossible to give in to various kinds of administrative-bureaucratic subterfuges which—as the experience of the first few years of restructuring and overcoming stagnation has demonstrated—express, as a rule, not the people's or the party's interests, but factional and clan interests. One candidate on the ballot paper is a firm indicator of the fact that such subterfuges exist.

It would be wrong to overestimate the level of our electorate's political culture. An opinion poll, carried out by us in October 1988, demonstrated that a mere 5 percent of the electors taking part in the by-elections could give the name of their candidate to people's deputies of the USSR. And 42 percent could not even name those who, in their opinion, could represent their interests in lower-level soviets—from republic to village.

We should not overestimate our electorate's political culture, but neither should it be underestimated. restructuring and glasnost have done their job: few people would like a return to the old even in small things. As early as the summer of 1987, when experimental elections took place in multiple-seat districts, a poll was carried out among 918 experts—government officials, party functionaries, executives of professional organizations and leaders of workforce units. Eighty percent of the polled said that only those who could voice and champion the people's interests must be elected as deputies. And only 16 percent believed that the system of proportional representation in the Soviets of men and women, young and older categories, different national groups and socio-professional strata was the most advisable. A departure from stereotypes is in evidence.

Fifty-two percent of the polled experts maintained that, with the elections held in the new way, electors would set their sights on candidates whose intellect, knowledge and personal concern would guarantee their fulfilment of the electorate's mandates. However, 44 percent were convinced that the main thing electors would want, as before, would be the nomination of those who, in virtue of their service position, had more chance of fulfilling these mandates. Thus, the stereotype of a deputy as a person "attached to his post," instead of being an independent political figure, is still strong. An analysis of the results of the 1987 voting, carried out by way of an experiment among alternative candidates, indicates: the electorate's preference is markedly tipped in favor of older deputies rather than young, party members rather than non-party people, executives rather than rank-and-file workers. Of course, the past year and a half of restructuring changed much in the electors' sentiments, but stereotypes are persistent.

Let's hope that in the current election campaign the electorate will put greater trust in the candidates' personal qualities, in the leverage and realism of their election platforms.

## Adoption of Opponents' Tactics Urged

*WA18120054 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 3, 22-29 Jan 89 p 9*

[[Text] The campaign for mandates for USSR people's deputies is on. Many people, with the help of bureaucratic tricks, would prefer that there be no contest at all but the usual smooth process in which a nomination is tantamount to having been elected and the voting is a formality to confirm the "unanimous approval."

But the course of the political reform is inexorable. Last year in our constituency when the first round of alternative elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar Autonomous Republic did not produce a winner we suggested to many good and respected workers that they propose themselves as candidates. Most refused. I understand these people. In the past a mandate was obtained almost automatically and afforded the deputy in question instant recognition. But today a candidate must display the qualities of a fighter, must be able to draw up a good program and convince the voters that his program is the best. Not all good workers, party functionaries included, are capable of this. There is also a fear of elections, a fear of being defeated. Some party functionaries think that their defeat will virtually signify the party's defeat.

I was one of two candidates in the second round of elections to the republican supreme soviet in our district. The other candidate was nominated by an unofficial environmental organization. But neither of us won—neither of us collected the required 50 percent of the vote. But a recent public opinion poll sponsored by the newspaper VECHERNYAYA KAZAN, indicated that even though I lost the election, I was the most popular party worker in the city and one of the three most popular people in Kazan. Of course, the pre-election publicity in the press played an important role. This uproar abated but the experience of participating in alternative elections has remained with me. It wasn't easy to compete against an environmental protection candidate. Many voters liked him a priori simply because he was running against a party functionary. But my program, tailored to the needs of the voters with whom I met constantly, was, it seems to me, more realistic.

In preparing for the election I realized that there are many obsolete aspects to our work and that we would do well to learn from the unofficial organizations. We counted on printed posters and slogans but people placed more trust in hand-written texts. We canvassed the usual places—work collectives and election campaign centres. But the unofficials' candidate stuck to crowded places: municipal transport stops, public gardens and shopping streets. Gradually I adopted some of their tactics, which, I think, considerably influenced the voting results.

Elections under new conditions call for a resolute departure from stereotypes. We must jettison passive methods of campaigning. We must go to the voters, debate our opponent publicly, show up the weak points of his program not forgetting to do justice to what is valuable in it, convince voters that our approach is the correct one. In short, we must wage an honest political campaign.

The forthcoming elections must make everyone, especially candidates who represent the CPSU, renounce the complacency which was inherent single-candidate slates. We must reject stereotypes about the indisputability of party prestige, about the party's necessarily guiding role in our society. All party organizations and their leader must constantly prove convincingly, especially during the election campaign, their right to political leadership.

For years we tried in vain to make people more politically active. Now this activity has become a fact. A Communist who assumes the responsibility of running for election as a party candidate must realize that his self-respect and healthy ambition won't do any harm here, that he must rely not only on the prestige of the CPSU which has launched restructuring but also on his own ability to champion restructuring.

### Lukyanov at Commission Meeting

*LD0102095489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] A regular session of the Central Electoral Commission on elections of USSR people's deputies took place 31 January in Moscow in the House of the Unions. Preliminary results of the nominations for candidate USSR people's deputies in the constituencies were examined. More than 7,500 candidates for people's deputies have been nominated—on average five candidates for every seat. During examination of the composition of the candidates for people's deputies from public organizations, it was noted that from the more than 2,000 candidates who were discussed at the plenums of public organizations, 880 candidates have been registered for 750 deputy seats. Among them are 198 women; 778 CPSU members and candidate members; 103 Komsomol members; 140 workers; 91 kolkhoz members; and 314 employees of science, health care, and the creative intelligentsia. Among the candidates are representatives of all union republics and many nationalities.

The session noted that the nominated candidates include representatives of all strata of Soviet society. They are united with the peoples' trust and with their active positions in the restructuring.

The executive committees of local soviets and the electoral commissions were instructed to finish forming polling commissions, ensure appropriate working conditions for them, and organize the commission members' study of the legislation on the elections and the procedural materials arriving from the Central Electoral Commission.

A report was heard from (Fidulova), deputy chairperson of the Central Electoral Commission, about citizens' appeals sent to the commission. There are more than 2,000 such appeals. The majority contain questions connected with the application of the law on elections, proposals on how to better organize the election campaign. Necessary measures are being undertaken to address the complaints about the decisions of local soviet bodies and electoral commissions. A work plan for the Central Electoral Commission for February and certain other questions connected with preparation for the coming elections were examined.

Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the Central Electoral Commission session.

### Official on Campaign Progress

*LD0102132189 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—A new stage of the election campaign in the Soviet Union—the registration of candidates for the posts of people's deputies—is connected with the holding of district electoral meetings. "These are needed because in many districts the number of people nominated by electors is often ten, twenty and more," Dmitriy Golovko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, explained in a TASS interview. "Therefore the law on elections makes provision for a kind of 'filter'—district electoral meetings where contenders for being registered as candidates should get the backing of a majority of those present who represent each collective that nominated the candidates. If not more than two candidates are nominated in a district, district electoral meetings are not held".

Golovko recalled that on Tuesday the commission had summed up the preliminary results of the nomination of candidates. In all, more than eight thousand contenders for 2,250 deputy's mandates had been nominated. More than 7,500 of them had been nominated in 1,500 electoral districts.

Electors nominated people of 40 nationalities from all union republics of the country. Their social composition points to a certain decrease in representation of workers, peasants, women and young people as compared with the present composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament).

"We are only learning democracy", Golovko emphasized. "Errors and repetitions of old but customary stereotypes are not ruled out along this road".

Central Electoral Commission members who visited a number of districts pointed out that, along with the high activity of population and democratic nature of the process, there were still instances of overorganization and manifestation of narrow group interests. The law-given possibility for holding electors' meetings at the places of residence was not used widely enough.

"The Central Electoral Commission thoroughly studies the course of the present campaign to use this truly invaluable experience for suggestions to refine electoral legislation in the USSR in the future," Golovko said.

### Vorotnikov Registered in Voronezh Consituency

*LD0102125489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Excerpt] Constituency electoral meetings and registration of candidate USSR people's deputies are continuing. Thus comrade Vorotnikov has been registered on behalf of the Voronezh national-territorial constituency. [passage omitted]

### Uzbek's Nishanov Registered; Crop Problems Persist

*LD0102211689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] [First presenter] The election campaign for the election of USSR people's deputies is gathering pace in the republic. Dozens of outstanding people have already been registered in various election constituencies, having gained this right as a result of a vigorous clash of opinions, and the selection of the best of those who really are best.

[Second Presenter] And where has Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee been registered, do you know?

[First Presenter] Yes, of course—Leningradskiy No 123 national-territorial constituency. By the way, last week he analyzed the state of affairs in the agro-industrial complex at a conference of the republican Communist Party Central Committee, and he noted that restructuring in rural areas is not really having any impact. Dangerous phenomena of the period of stagnation are preserved there. In connection with this, I had a meeting with (Zenat Stretovich Nazarov), head of the department of the organization and development of cotton production and other crops of the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom.

[Begin recording] [Presenter] (Zenat Stretovich), many problems have accumulated in Uzbekistan's agro-industrial complex. What ways do you see to resolve them?

[(Nazarov)] To put it very briefly, there are two main reasons for this: miscalculations in investment policy, and the as yet remaining monoculture of cotton. The failure to resolve the food question stems from this. Taking the situation that has arisen into account, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and the republican council of ministers are drafting proposals for a reduction in the plan for cotton procurements by 250,000 to 300,000 tonnes. Then for the duration of one or two 5-year plans, it will be stable at the level of 5 million tonnes.

[Presenter] Of late one has heard more and more the opinion of some people who consider that the production of raw cotton in Uzbekistan should be reduced even more considerably, to 4 million or even 3 million tonnes.

[(Nazarov)] Given a correct, scientifically-based organization of labor, the income gained from a hectare of cotton is substantially greater than that from other crops. And during the transition to self-recoupment and self-financing, this is extremely important. You can believe what I say—at the republican gosagroprom we have repeatedly gone through the calculations for various options, and that is why I can say with complete confidence that the proposals for such a considerable reduction in raw cotton production are not justified at this stage either by agricultural techniques or economically. Moreover, we could thereby lose a whole billion rubles in income and throw the development of the republic's economy out of balance. In order to put things right as quickly as possible, it has been decided to change cotton's share to 60-62 percent, about 10 percent less than at present. On the areas made free, we expect to gain 600,000 tonnes and more of vegetables. [end recording]

### Election Meeting Ban Spurs Hunger Strike

*PM3101142589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 2*

[Feature under the "We Study Democracy" rubric, incorporating contributions by members of Stavropol "People's Front" and Stavropol City officials, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondents' commentary: "Extreme Measure"; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] "**More than 1,500 Stavropol inhabitants supported an appeal to the gorispolkom to hold a neighborhood meeting to nominate a candidate for USSR people's deputy. Although not a single such meeting had been held in the okrug, the gorispolkom refused. Three voters—Candidate of Philosphical Sciences Kaznacheyeva, Journalists' Union member Krasulya, and Candidate of Biological Sciences Nesis—have declared a hunger strike, demanding that the gorsipolkom decision be revoked as antidemocratic, that a neighborhood election meeting be called, and that those responsible for this antirestructuring decision be called to account.**

[Signed] Kaznacheyeva"

#### "We Were Refused Unlawfully"

The roots of the present conflict, to which we have been forced to draw attention by such an extreme measure, go back to last year. One can even date it precisely—16 October. That was the day an action group was set up to create a "People's Front" in Stavropol to defend restructuring. Scientists, engineers, journalists, and writers—in short, serious people who are responsible for their actions—joined the group.

We are united by a single aim—the aim of rallying the public of the city and kray to give maximum assistance to the ideas of restructuring formulated at the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

The draft program of the future "People's Front" says: 'The opportunity has now come to dispose of the heavy burden of the past, to revive the Leninist principles of socialism, and to mold a society that meets the interests and needs of the entire people. The Stavropol 'People's Front' works to broaden the social base of restructuring, to counter retardant forces, and to create a city platform for glasnost....'

As you can see, the draft program, our ideas, and the tasks we set are devoid of all extremism. And how could it be otherwise, since the majority of people in the action group are Communists.

However, the draft program was fated to remain a draft. Five times we requested permission from the gorispolkom to hold a constituent meeting of the "People's Front." But we were turned down on each occasion.

The campaign to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy is in full swing in Stavropol, just as in the rest of the country. Thousands of people are playing an active part in it. On 3 January we sent a letter to the gorispolkom asking on behalf of our action group and the inhabitants of the fifth residential district for permission to hold a neighborhood meeting to discuss the numerous social problems of the city and maybe nominate a candidate deputy on the meeting's behalf (The Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies provides for such a possibility if the meeting is attended by more than 500 voters).

A week passed without an answer. We then decided to make clear how popular the proposal was among the residential district's inhabitants. More than 1,500 people signed a letter to the gorispolkom!

Unfortunately, on 11 January Gorispolkom Secretary G. Skorokhod informed us that the holding of a meeting had been rejected by decision of the gorispolkom and okrug electoral commission.

That is what prompted us to such an extreme and disagreeable step as a hunger strike....

Incidentally, the reaction to it was immediate. On 16 January the gorispolkom received new requests for a neighborhood meeting to be held. By 17 January a favorable decision had already been given and invitations to the Gagarin Culture Complex (which is, it is true, at the other end of the city from the residential district) printed. Unfortunately, because of that reason most of the people who were originally turned down will not be able to attend the meeting.

And we still ask that a meeting of inhabitants be permitted in the fifth residential district itself.

[Signed] T. Kaznacheyeva, V. Krasulya, Yu. Nesis

**"Our Refusal Was Justified"**

Let us make it quite clear: Our reason for refusing a neighborhood meeting had nothing to do with the fact that it was initiated by the so-called "People's Front" action group.

The gorispolkom began receiving telephone calls from inhabitants: What is happening, some people are calling at apartments and agitating.... On receiving petitions containing hundreds of signatures, we decided to carry out a selective check on them. And this is what we found: In some instances one person had signed for the whole family. The signatories included one minor and one person who does not live in our electoral okrug. Some citizens refused to acknowledge that their signature was on the appeal. And T. Kaznacheyeva, a teaching institute lecturer, had abused her official position: She had suggested to her students that they sign the letter. In short, we have cases of falsification. People who start this kind of thing cannot be trusted to hold a meeting to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy.

After being informed of the gorsipolkom's refusal, they tried to hold an unsanctioned assembly of the residential district inhabitants. True, only 20-30 people took part. But another alarming thing is that all these initiatives are taking place without the participation of the social self-management bodies—the residential block committees, and so forth.

Regarding the refusals to authorize a constituent assembly of the so-called "People's Front," let us make it clear: The action group is trying to prove that it acts on the people's behalf. But we have held meetings in labor collectives where activists of the group work and have seen for ourselves that they do not have any support there. What is the point of this assembly, then?

Yes, the new election campaign is making difficult headway. There are many unclear issues, there may be blunders too. Nominating candidates for local soviets will clearly be even more difficult. But the party gorkom and gorispolkom appreciate that we cannot now operate by methods of prohibition. It is necessary to use methods of persuasion and explanation.

[Signed] N. Kurilova, secretary of Stavropol party gorkom

G. Skorokhod, secretary of the gorispolkom

**Our Commentary**

We are bound to agree with T. Kaznacheyeva, V. Krasulya, and Yu. Nesis that a hunger strike is indeed an extreme measure. We have seen how difficult it is for them and another four of their comrades who have supported this form of protest (or despair?). They go to work, they don't organize turbulent rallies, they don't exhibit their "sufferings" on the street. Although of course it would certainly have been worth searching for an alternative that was more of a compromise but less of an "impasse."

But let us not rush to judgment. Particularly as the "weapons" of the local press and various articles "to assist party organization secretaries" are now aimed at the very idea, only just generated in Stavropol, of a "People's Front" to defend restructuring. A quotation:

"The forms of activity of the 'People's Front' have not been given concrete expression, and it is not possible therefore to determine whether they are lawful or not..."

But you can only determine whether these forms are lawful, that is, whether they are in accord with our laws, by open dialogue, by the very meeting which the action group has been persistently refused—by practice, in the final analysis.

And how is the gorispolkom decision to ban the meeting in the fifth residential district seen in the fifth residential district? The decision reads as follows: "In view of the fact that the group's actions run contrary to Articles 2 and 16 of the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies, the gorispolkom has, in line with Article 13, deemed it inexpedient..."

The articles of the law allegedly broken by V. Krasulya and his comrades say that people who have reached the age of 18 and live in the electoral okrug in question may take part in the election of people's deputies. Precisely so! But you will only know who will come to the meeting at the actual meeting itself. And then you can declare whether it is entitled to nominate a candidate or not.

Although a meeting of voters, which was apparently what the hunger strikers were seeking to obtain, did take place at the Gagarin Culture Complex 19 January, it was a rum affair: Most people in the hall were not respresentatives of any residential district but came from the... "Krasnyy Metallist" Association. That major enterprise had already made its nomination: The collective had chosen its general director, V. Tsalko. It would appear to be enough to have been nominated for the okrug. Why, then, was another demonstration of sympathy required here, at the Culture Palace?

The upshot was that more than 600 people voted for V. Tsapko's platform, while the candidate proposed by the action group, V. Krasulya, received only a few dozen votes.

"We were insisting on a meeting in the actual city residential district where we are supported. This was just a well-organized show," members of the action group said, "we decided to take part in it only in order to expound our position once again."

The "thwarting" of the group's actions goes to extremes. V. Larionov, a youth newspaper staffer who ran a popular local television program called "Nochnoy Efir," has been sacked just for mentioning the "People's Front."

And here is a quotation from a leading article in the 3 January issue of STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA:

"An election campaign should be conducted in a calm, buisnesslike atmosphere, without allowing social overexcitement, because overexcitement is, as we know, a poor counselor. It is essential to ensure that all people thoroughly understand that the period of analysis of the situation prevailing in the country, when social forces were consciously set in motion and society experienced a time of discussion, wave upon wave of rallies, and turbulent emotions, has basically exhausted itself."

You read and do not believe your eyes. Is there really nothing more to analyze? Is everything clear to everyone? The seven participants in the act of protest have been joined by another two—L. Sokolova, a secondary school teacher, and Ye. Suslova, director of the kray public education department archive...

[Signed] Yu. Bespalov and O. Shapovalov (own special correspondents), Stavropol.

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## IZVESTIYA Views Sakharov's 'Critical Remarks'

*PM0102173189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[Unattributed article: "Restructuring and Responsibility; Thoughts About an Interview"; for reportage on the Sakharov, Bonner interview with Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, see the 26 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 42-43]

[Text] In the past few days it has been possible to hear on the radio from abroad reports and commentaries about how Soviet Academician A.D. Sakharov has given an interview to the right-wing French newspaper LE FIGARO. The content of these reports has given rise to bewildered questions, but people who know the morals of some foreign publications might put it all down to the latest fabrication, of the kind to which we are accustomed. But we have before us LE FIGARO with the above-mentioned interview. It contains opinions on the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and critical remarks concerning particular phenomena in our country. An entirely normal matter.

But the interview also contains assertions which are hard to pass by. Indeed, an active process of public normalization is under way in the country and serious transformations have been outlined and are being implemented in the political structure, in economic relations, and in the spiritual sphere. A course is being developed toward creating a rule-of-law state and the country, awakening from social and political apathy, is acquiring a new qualitative state.

Of course, many complex problems are arising on this path. Nor could it be otherwise. You only have to acquaint yourself with the Central Committee and government resolutions which are being published and with the numerous press articles and television broadcasts to see how vast are the tasks which restructuring is resolving. In-depth debates are under way in the country about how best to conduct matters and the process of transformations is gathering strength, although not everything is proceeding as we would like. But surely these are not grounds for casting doubt on the very course of restructuring and predicting its defeat? Anyone who counts himself among the sincere supporters of restructuring cannot judge it from the positions of an onlooker. Empathy, anguish over setbacks, joy over achievements, anxieties yet hopes too, and the practical readiness to make headway—these are perhaps the moral criteria characterizing the positions of those who are truly in favor of the revolutionary changes by which Soviet society lives today gaining the upper hand in our country.

You can argue as much as you like about the merits and imperfections of any constitution and any electoral law. But who today can assume the moral responsibility to state thoughtlessly that the process of the nomination of candidates is undemocratic and that some people have been deprived of the right to express their will freely? Perhaps there have been instances of bureaucratic obstacles and demagogic claims, but the healthy process of the establishment of democratic procedures is under way throughout the country as a whole. And it would scarcely be fair not to see the wood for the trees, not to see behind particular—and sometimes not very authenticated—instances the enormous cleansing process which has gripped the country.

The interview asserts, as though in passing, that some opposing forces "will overthrow him (Gorbachev—editorial office) or will dictate their opinion to him. I said this during my visit to the West." It is appropriate to ask on what information this assertion is based and what arguments exist to save it from political fantasy. Something like this requires responsible evidence, serious study, specific data. Where are they?

Perhaps it would not even be worth mentioning this, but after all statements of this kind are sometimes taken for the truth and they give rise to various conjectures, which in turn promotes the emergence of confusion in people's thoughts, of uncertainty and suspicion, and this, of course, does not help restructuring or the actual progress of the transformations. The prestige of the people who have initiated restructuring will not of course suffer from a few sentences published in the foreign press. How many of them there have been! But at the same time we believe that the principles of socialist renewal should be defended as should those people who have assumed enormous responsibility for the social transformations and linked their destiny with the revolution of restructuring.

One more question touched on in the interview was the nationalities question. No one will deny that the problem of national relations is among the most complex, subtle, and delicate. And since that is so, approaches toward it should be as considered and responsible as possible.

The Soviet people were greatly upset over the events which have taken place in the Transcaucasus. The breath of these events can be felt to this day. From the outset the country's leadership steered a course toward resolving by political means and on the basis of the laws the problems which have accumulated and it has held to this course to the end. Over the past year very acute situations have frequently arisen requiring restraint, patience, and responsibility. The setting up of a normal life was persistently impeded by various extremists, by people of unbridled ambition, and even by criminals, which led to casualties among the Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Russians, and Ukrainians. Under these conditions we had to take the extreme step that was the introduction of Army units to this region in order to halt the clashes which were being provoked on national soil and to end the bloodshed.

The questions of Nagorno-Karabakh and mutual relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's were repeatedly discussed in the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Groups of scientists and senior officials of the Central Committee and the government repeatedly traveled to the Transcaucasus, special investigative and operational commissions were set up. In other words, painstaking daily work was being done in pursuit of a single goal—finding the best possible solution which would serve the interests of all peoples living in the region and excluding a situation whereby the demands of some would be met at the expense of others. Ultimately, with approval by both republics' party and soviet organs, and on the basis of numerous consultations with the public and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Armenia and Azerbaijan, there was success in finding an acceptable solution which is today welcomed by most people both in the Azerbaijan and the Armenian SSR's.

It would seem that there should be nothing but joy that life is returning to normal, that artificially created fears are disappearing from peaceful homes. It would be logical for all to act in such a way as to promote the further normalization of the situation and not to raise doubts about the correctness of the measures being taken.

What else draws attention? Back in the past A.D. Sakharov, who had been deprived of a rostrum in the motherland, was being—let's put it frankly—hypocritically reproached: Why, people asked, does he use foreign newspapers and foreign microphones to criticize our internal shortcomings? Yes, that did happen. But that is now in the past, it has disappeared never to return. So what is it today that makes it necessary to appeal to one's compatriots through foreign newspapers and radios? Is there no opportunity to do so in one's own country? Of course, everyone is at liberty to choose his audience and propaganda channels, but it is hardly ethical when appeals are made to foreign governments and the public abroad to pressure the USSR, as they did in the past. This is not so much a matter of the tone of such addresses, the main point is that today (just like yesterday) it is naive to imagine that someone would impose order in our own home on our behalf, would come in and institute democracy, would teach us how to live, and as a result of all this we would become better, fairer, more humane, and so on. What is all this?

It is not the West which has done anything to our society in the last few years—nobody else's demands played any part here. In just a few years, restructuring and glasnost have accomplished something which still keeps the world in amazement. We have done this by ourselves, we have done it deliberately and courageously. This being so, maybe it would still be better to discuss one's own problems—if, of course, they really are one's own—primarily with one's own people in one's own country.

We would like least of all for all this to be perceived as some sort of manipulation [prorabotka] or moralizing. But it is no good keeping silent on questions of principle, either. This is simply not democratic. Restructuring, just like truth, is one and the same for all. Everyone is equal before it.

## Text of Estonian Law on Language Published

*PM0102144089 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 pp 2-3*

["Estonian SSR Law on Language"—adopted at 18 January Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session]

[Text] The state language of the Estonian SSR is Estonian. In Estonia, the ancient homeland of the Estonians, the Estonian language is a subject of special attentiveness on the part of the state and is under its protection. The legislative establishment of the status of Estonian as the state language creates a firm basis for the preservation and development of the Estonian people and their culture.

In the Estonian SSR every private individual as well as every institution, enterprise, and organization is guaranteed the right to use the Estonian language in both the oral and the written form.

The Estonian SSR provides for the study of the Estonian language and research into it in Estonia, and also supports the teaching of Estonian and research into it outside Estonia.

The present law considers the Russian language on the basis of the requirements of all-union communication, and also as the most commonly occurring native language in the Estonian SSR after Estonian.

The status of Estonian as the state language is not detrimental to the civil rights of people whose native language is another language. While protecting Estonian at state level, the Estonian SSR recognizes the inalienable right of citizens of any nationality to develop their native language and culture and the equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of native language. Article 1. In accordance with Article 5 of the Estonian SSR Constitution, the state language of the Estonian SSR is Estonian.

The procedure for the use of the state language of the Estonian SSR, the Russian language, and other languages is laid down by the present law.

### The Private Individual

Article 2. The private individual on the territory of the Estonian SSR has the right to conduct business and communication in Estonian in all institutions of state power and state administration and also institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Estonian SSR.

This provision also applies to those institutions of state power and state administration, as well as institutions, enterprises, and organizations, that carry out their business in other languages.

Article 3. The private individual is also guaranteed the opportunity to conduct business and communication in institutions of state power and state administration and in institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Estonian SSR in Russian.

Business is conducted with private individuals in other languages in accordance with opportunity and the object of the activity.

Article 4. Language requirements are laid down for all leadership workers, workers on organs of state power and state administration, social organizations, the law enforcement system, public order protection organs and organs of supervision, medical personnel, journalists, workers in the sphere of service, trade, communications, and accident and rescue services, and others whose duties require them to communicate with private individuals. A knowledge of and ability to use Estonian, Russian, and other languages is compulsory within the limits of the requirements laid down in accordance with Article 37 of the present law.

Article 5. Leadership workers communicate with subordinates in the chosen language of the latter, but are not obliged to exceed the limits set by the language requirements.

Article 6. In the sphere of consumer services and trade, the side offering the service is obliged to use the language chosen by the person receiving the service, within the limits set by the language requirements.

Article 7. Creating obstacles to a private individual's choice of language or displaying scorn toward his chosen language is prohibited and punishable in cases laid down by legislation.

### Institutions of State Power and State Administration

Article 8. The business language of institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR is Estonian. Sessions and working meetings of organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR are conducted by the chairman and their minutes recorded in Estonian.

Acts of organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR are adopted and published in Estonian and in Russian translation.

Local institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR may use Russian as their business language in accordance with Article 36 of the present law.

Article 9. When institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR have dealings outside the republic, a language acceptable to both sides is used.

Article 10. In written communication with institutions, enterprises, and organizations located in the Estonian SSR and also among themselves, institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR use Estonian.

Local institutions of state power and state administration whose business is conducted in Russian in accordance with Article 36 of the present law may use Russian in written communication with institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR.

Article 11. When addressing a private individual in the Estonian SSR, institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR use Estonian, or, in addressing individuals who do not know Estonian, Russian or another language.

Institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR offer the private individual the opportunity to conduct business and communication in Estonian and Russian, and also to receive documents in Estonian and Russian, depending on their purpose or the individual's wish. Communication within institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR and the issuing of documents by them in other languages may take place depending on the object of the activity and the potential of the institutions, on the basis of the ethnic composition of the local population and the requirements of international communication.

### Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations

Article 12. The language of internal business at institutions, enterprises, and organizations located on the territory of the Estonian SSR is Estonian.

The use of Russian in business may continue within a given time limit in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; in setting the time limit the real prerequisites for the switch to the conduct of business in Estonian are to be taken into account. The worker is provided with information relating to his job in Estonian, and internal documentation is accepted from him in Estonian too. Subdivisions of institutions, enterprises, and organizations where business is continuing in Russian have the right to use Estonian in business. Internal business other than in Estonian may also take place in accordance with Articles 20 and 25 of the present law.

Article 13. Institutions, enterprises, and organizations may use technical documentation in the original language.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Estonian SSR may issue technical documentation other than in Estonian only in accordance with the client's wish.

Article 14. When institutions, enterprises, and organizations located on the territory of the Estonian SSR have dealings outside the Estonian SSR, a language acceptable to both sides is used.

Article 15. Institutions, enterprises, and organizations located on the territory of the Estonian SSR, in communication with institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR and also among themselves, use Estonian.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations using Russian in internal business may use Russian in communication among themselves and in communication with institutions of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR.

The present law does not apply to the use of language in military units.

Article 16. In addressing a private individual in the Estonian SSR institutions, enterprises, and organizations use Estonian, or, in addressing persons who do not know Estonian, Russian or another language.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Estonian SSR offer the private individual the opportunity to communicate and conduct affairs in Estonian and Russian, and also to receive documents in Estonian and Russian depending on their purpose and the individual's wish.

Article 17. The intrarepublican accountability reports and financial documentation of institutions, enterprises, and organizations located in the Estonian SSR are presented in Estonian.

### Legal Proceedings

Article 18. The use of languages in legal proceedings takes place in accordance with Article 158 of the Estonian SSR Constitution.

### Education, Science, and Culture

Article 19. The Estonian SSR recognizes the equal right of all its citizens to receive state general education in their native language.

The Estonian SSR ensures the provision of education in Estonian throughout its territory.

The provision of general education in Russian is ensured in accordance with the distribution of the Russian-speaking population.

Article 20. Citizens of the Estonian SSR have the right to monolingual (in terms of the language of tuition and education) children's institutions and general educational schools.

Internal business in non-Estonian children's institutions and schools may be conducted in the native language.

Leaders of children's institutions and educational establishments, as well as teaching personnel, must know the language of tuition and education used in their institution.

Article 21. The Estonian SSR makes provision for the teaching of the Estonian language in all educational establishments and study groups operating in other languages, regardless of their departmental affiliation.

All VUZ students who do not speak Estonian are to be taught Estonian.

Article 22. Citizens of the Estonian SSR have the right to receive vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher education in Estonian in all specialities taught in the Estonian SSR.

Graduates of Estonian SSR schools where the language of tuition is Russian are given the opportunity to receive further education within the Estonian SSR system of vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher education by means of Russian-language study groups, colleges, and schools in accordance with the republic's requirements and potential, and also through intensive teaching of the Estonian language during the initial stage of vocational education conducted in Estonian.

Article 23. The Estonian SSR guarantees the right to submit scientific work and defend it in Estonian in pursuit of an academic degree.

There are no obstacles to the choice of language used in scientific publications in the Estonian SSR. Dissertations may be submitted and defended, in pursuit of an academic degree, in any language accepted by the specialized council.

Article 24. The Estonian SSR gives priority to the development of Estonian-language culture, while at the same time supporting the cultural activity of other ethnic groups.

The dissemination of mass information in Estonian should be ensured in every city and rayon of the Estonian SSR.

The Estonian SSR gives priority to the production of printed publications in Estonian.

The Estonian SSR ensures the existence of radio and television channels for Estonian-language programs and the availability of these programs throughout the territory of the Estonian SSR.

The Estonian SSR ensures the translation of movies, videos, and other audiovisual productions into Estonian at public showings.

The provision of comprehensive information on the Estonian SSR in Russian on television and radio and in the press is ensured.

The present law does not apply to the use of language in connection with the performance of religious activity and the execution of rites.

Article 25. In the Estonian SSR national cultural associations may conduct internal business in their own national languages and issue publications, record cards, and documents in their native language.

National cultural associations may initiate the setting up of children's institutions, schools, and cultural institutions and the founding of periodical publications operating in their native language, and they also have the right to organize out-of-school educational work in the native language.

### Meetings

Article 26. At meetings, sessions, conferences, and other events held in the Estonian SSR the choice of language for speeches is not restricted. Comprehension of speeches is ensured, where necessary, by translation.

The organizing committee determines the languages to be used at international and interrepublican events, and also the question of translation.

### Names

Article 27. In the Estonian SSR placenames are designated in Estonian. The only exceptions permitted are those determined by factors of a historical and historico-cultural nature.

Every locality in the Estonian SSR has a single official name. This is recorded in the letters of the Estonian-Latin alphabet and may be transliterated into other alphabetic systems in accordance with the rules laid down in the Estonian SSR.

Article 28. Every citizen of the Estonian SSR of Estonian nationality has a forename (or forenames) and surname (single or hyphenated). Additional elements are indicated only at the citizen's wish. The forename and surname of the individual are recorded in the Estonian-Latin alphabet and may be transliterated into other alphabetic systems in accordance with the rules laid down in the Estonian SSR.

Citizens of the Estonian SSR of other nationalities are named in accordance with their national traditions; for official use, the name must contain at least a forename and surname. The name of citizens of other nationalities in documents compiled in Estonian is rendered in accordance with the rules laid down.

Article 29. The international spelling of placenames and personal names in the Estonian SSR in the Latin alphabet is identical to the spelling used in the Estonian SSR.

The international spelling of names of means of transport, buildings, structures, and other objects officially named according to an Estonian word or personal name that is written in Latin letters in the original is identical, in the Latin alphabet, to the spelling of the corresponding words or personal names in Estonian texts.

Article 30. The detailed procedure for the use of names is defined by the Estonian SSR Law on Names.

### Signs and Information

Article 31. In the Estonian SSR record cards and forms in Estonian are used, and the Estonian text may be accompanied by translations.

Record cards and forms in other languages may be used in accordance with Articles 12, 20, and 25 of the present law, and also in dealings outside the Estonian SSR.

Article 32. Texts on seals, imprints, and stamps should be in Estonian, accompanied by a translation where necessary.

Article 33. Texts of publicly displayed signs, announcements, notices, and advertising should be in Estonian. A translation or transcription may follow in second place, and the script should be no larger than the script of the Estonian text. The translation of such texts is carried out in accordance with the requirements of local inhabitants and interrepublican and international communication.

Announcements, reports, and advertising for the needs of national cultural associations, schools, and international communication may be in other languages.

Goods on sale in the Estonian SSR should also be supplied with information in Estonian. Goods produced in the Estonian SSR and on sale in the republic should carry their name in Estonian as a minimum.

Article 34. Combinations of letters used as registration marks in the Estonian SSR may contain only Latin letters.

### Application of the Law

Article 35. Articles 2, 3, 11, and 16 of the present law are to come into effect within 1 year; Article 6, Article 10 Section 1, Articles 31 and 32, and Article 33 Section 3 are to come into effect within 2 years; and Article 5, Article 15 Section 1, and Articles 17 and 34 are to come into effect within 4 years after the law comes into force.

Article 36. For local institutions of state power and state administration where business has hitherto been conducted in Russian and in whose administrative territory the vast majority of the population do not speak Estonian, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium may for a specified period postpone the entry into effect of Article 8 Section 1 of the present law, taking into account, in setting the time limits, the real prerequisites for the reestablishment of business in Estonian.

The above section does not apply to the Estonian SSR capital Tallinn and its rayons.

The local institutions of state power and state administration indicated in Section 1 of the present article have the right to communicate among themselves, and with institutions, enterprises, and organizations using Russian in internal business, in Russian.

Article 37. Article 4 of the present law is to come into effect by stages within 4 years after the law comes into force.

Lists of the specialities and posts stipulated in Article 4 of the present law, the language requirements to be taken into account in concluding a labor contract with the individuals concerned, certification conditions, the language teaching procedure, and time limits for the entry into effect of Article 4 are to be determined by the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers in consultation with the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission for the Protection of Language.

### Responsibility and Monitoring of Fulfillment of the Law

Article 38. Leaders of institutions of state power and state administration and of institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Estonian SSR are personally responsible for compliance with the requirements of the present law within the sphere under their jurisdiction.

Officials and also workers indicated in Article 4 of the present law who are guilty of deliberately violating the present law are liable to be held responsible according to the procedure laid down.

Article 39. Monitoring of the fulfillment of the present law rests with the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Commission for the Protection of Language formed by it.

A. Ryuytel,

Chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V. Vakht,

Secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Tallinn, 18 January 1989.

## Latvian Cited on Fronts, Ethnic Issues

*PM0102123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview in Riga with Viktor Imantovich Alksnis, senior air force engineer-inspector, by I. Litvinova under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "Only Together Are We Latvia"; date unspecified; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Riga—The site of his grandfather's grave is unknown. A bust has been erected in his memory in Riga's Communards Avenue: "Yakov Alksnis. 1897-1938." At the time of his arrest, Alksnis had been head of the Red Army Air Force for 7 years. His grandson, Viktor Imantovich Alksnis, is also a military man—senior air force engineer-inspector. Students and lecturers at Riga's Yakov Alksnis Higher Military Aviation Engineering School have nominated Viktor Alksnis as candidate for USSR people's deputy. He lives in Riga. Many remember his recent speech at the Constituent Congress of the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People.

[Litvinova] Viktor Imantovich, you attended the International Front Congress as a guest. Have you any intention of joining either of the fronts—the People's Front or the International Front?

[Alksnis] None at all. I think that servicemen and personnel in the militia, prosecutor's office, and KGB should refrain from joining these organizations. I recently added journalists to this list of mine as well. The whole republic watched dumbfounded on television as, forgetting all the rules of professional ethics, correspondents at the press conference following the International Front Congress "interrogated"—there is no other word for it—the leaders of the front. All objectivity was cast aside. No attempt was made to conceal their prejudice—they bombarded people with accusations and reproaches instead of asking them questions and tried to ferret out "compromising information." Disgraceful, of course. But unfortunately this is exactly how some of the mass media behave, having clearly taken the side of one of the fronts. Hence the tendentious selection and presentation of events and facts and the imposition of views. However, we often do not even get the chance to hear many views. How, for example, can they be aired on Latvian television when the party Central Committee Bureau decision to establish a sociopolitical program in Russian has been ignored for several months now? The interests of almost 50 percent of the republic's population appear not to count.

[Litvinova] The language question is one of the most serious issues in the republic today. If recent trends develop further, within a few generations we would probably have to talk about Latvian as a dying language. That is what the specialists say. But a few months ago a resolution was adopted on giving Latvian the status of a state language in the republic. We will soon see the draft regulations for the use of languages in Latvia and the relevant legislative amendments. You, a Latvian, were one of the first to advocate in the press that this same status—that of state language—also be given to Russian in Latvia. Has your position changed?

[Alksnis] No, recently I have possibly become even more convinced that almost half of the republic's population—those who speak Russian—should not be placed in a defenseless position. After all, the law has not even been passed yet, but zealous officials are already beginning to interpret it in their own way, with no concern for how this will affect people's lives.

[Litvinova] Many have been offended by the term "migrant" that is now current. From being a strictly scientific term, it has been turned into an insulting label used by newspapers and journals.

[Alksnis] An author in issue No 11 of the local journal RODNIK divided the Latvian population as follows: The Latvian nation, migrants, and, the worst category of all, "colonists." The migrants category also includes "Latvians from Russia," as the author calls them, or, in other words, people like my father, for example. The justification? They—and I quote—"cannot be classed as part of the Latvian nation because they either have a poor knowledge of the Latvian language or are incapable of speaking it at all, even as a foreign language.... In our country, of course, they are classed as Latvians on their passports, but in fact they are only such in the eyes of the bureaucratic and propaganda apparatus of other states." In the opinion of the journal's author, these people are "denationalized." How can one agree with this "revelation"?

Yes, my father's life was difficult—he suffered many losses. He was 10 years old when his mother and father were arrested. The rest of his life followed a path typical of the "son of an enemy of the people": a children's home in Shchigry, near Kursk, and then Central Asia and Siberia.

When we moved to Riga, my grandmother set herself the aim of teaching us to speak Latvian. She succeeded in doing this quite quickly: Within a year my sister and I (I was 7 years old, my sister Olga was 5) could talk to our grandmother quite tolerably in her native language. But we still spoke with our parents in Russian. This was real bilingualism and something at which we arrived naturally, almost without noticing it. My grandmother very much wanted to teach her own son Latvian. She tried for a long time but did not make a great deal of headway. It was not so easy for a grown man who inhabited a different linguistic environment (and this was precisely the case with my father—both at home and at work his language of communication was Russian) to master the language of his ancestors. But can we deprive him and people with similar lives of their nationality? The journal RODNIK even offers a mechanism of definition to show whether "you are a real Latvian or not." It proposes to do this on the basis of... the speaker's articulation and pronunciation. Then, the author is sure, "It will be very difficult to pass yourself off as a real Latvian." More than 100,000 Latvians live across the country, outside Latvia itself. Does this mean that they too "are not real Latvians"?

[Litvinova] But surely the resolution on the status of the Latvian language is not based on any desire to give privileges in relation to other languages but on a concern to develop and protect the Latvian language?

[Alksnis] If that is so, how can the legal status of the Russian language, spoken by half of the republic's population, possibly impinge upon it? World practice has a number of examples of this kind of solution to the problem: Canada, Finland, Switzerland. In our own country, in the Abkhaz ASSR, three languages have state language status: Abkhaz, Georgian, and Russian.

I would like to say a few words about the arguments used, which, in my opinion, are sometimes incorrect. Take the example of transferring official correspondence to Latvian. This is perfectly realistic—but in every sphere of production? We can already clearly appreciate the difficulties we will come up against in our ties with other regions. Suppose we solve these problems by employing a large staff of translators. I would like to make one particular observation. In my opinion, the Russian language has suffered most when it has borne the "burden of bureaucracy" on its back. It also has not benefited from being studied on a mass scale by people for whom Russian is not the native tongue. Distortion, "slang," and oversimplification of the language are inevitable. It would be good, of course, if Latvian were spoken by the entire non-Latvian population, but are we aware of the damage this could do to the language? So far I have found this concern expressed only in a letter to a newspaper from a Latvian woman, who warned of precisely this danger. That is why I am against haste and excessive administration when the subject is such a delicate instrument as language. We must not break the tuned strings in our agitation.

[Litvinova] So what should be done to develop the national language?

[Alksnis] It must be developed by every democratic means available. But we must not use administrative methods—I think we have already condemned them. Everyone must have freedom of language. It is the job of every republic to make sure there is plenty of literature and plenty of records and cassettes for language study, to introduce the most up-to-date teaching methods, train the requisite number of professional teaching cadres, and monitor the quality of language teaching in schools.

Coercion, humiliation, insult—these are all bad helpers in the mastery of another language and culture. You mentioned the term "migrants," but another term is also in circulation: "occupiers." We can continue this list of epithets—it is already quite full: "aliens," "colonizers"... It is a shame that many terms degrading to human dignity have been initiated by very educated, intelligent people. Surely it is obvious that this causes psychological tension and mistrust between peoples?

[Litvinova] They say that national problems do not exist in pure form. All these problems have causes of some kind: socioeconomic, political, ecological.... But the situation has developed in such a way that the questions which have built up over the years are having to be answered by us—the people who live in the republic today. Although sometimes the question is "addressed to the wrong person." The same is true of the language problem: It is easy to blame the "man in the street" but harder to understand and help him. He has stood at the workbench, sewn clothes, built homes—that has been his duty. Surely he is not to blame for the fact that the leaders of the republic contributed to a situation where the need to have a knowledge of Latvian virtually did not exist, insofar as no one formulated this need?

[Alksnis] Yes, we probably all remember the plenums conducted solely in Russian, as well as Supreme Soviet sessions and other important political events. If anyone tried to say that this situation was abnormal, he ran the risk of being labeled a "nationalist." The same fate awaited leaders who showed any concern for the republic's economic independence. A well-known example of this is the current president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, a Russian named Nikonov, who was Latvian minister of agriculture and tried to prevent the forcible destruction of Latvia's traditional methods of economic operations. This man was called a "bourgeois nationalist" and life in the republic was made intolerable for him so that he was forced to leave.

I would like to say a few words about deformations in the republic's national economy. For decades, departments have made their own policies here and ignored the region's interests. But what is to be done now, when the sorry truth has been told about the legacy—and not the best of legacies—we have inherited? There are different approaches, and this was discussed at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum. It also voiced the concern that "some participants in restructuring and some groups of people frequently give their opinion as the only right opinion and—even worse—try to force this opinion on society come what may. People are staging pickets and rallies, circulating leaflets and resolutions, collecting signatures, and manipulating the public consciousness with the aid of the mass media."

For many years our lives have been blinkered by dogmas. We now seem to have the opportunity to think and discuss matters freely. So why are we now creating new dogmas, cluttering up people's heads with dubious information, and establishing a new monopoly on the truth? Once again, if you express a view that is possibly wrong but your own, nevertheless, you can be labeled a neo-Stalinist, a stagnationist, and a traitor to the people...

[Litvinova] Several of Latvia's creative collectives have suggested their own models of republic economic accountability. The priority of agriculture has been made clear. Perhaps this is one way out of the impasse?

[Alksnis] Perhaps. There is one thing I am afraid of: the politicization of economic decisions. This has happened before: The ideologues advanced a hypothesis and the economists substantiated it afterward. Regional economic accountability is something people all over the country want. But we are placing the emphasis on discussions about having our own currency and are prohibiting parcels from being sent out of the republic.... Can this really be taken seriously? Another example: The decision has been made to give priority to agriculture. But this is impossible without interesting industry and science in agricultural development. But in our republic, people are trying to virtually set cities and rural areas at loggerheads with each other. What kind of method is this—giving rural areas pitiful funds that have been taken from industry? It is industry that can create the conditions for intensive agricultural development: small-scale mechanization, special equipment, and, ultimately, computerization.

Just a few more words on the subject of giving priority to agriculture. Let's be realistic—the agrarian path at the end of the 20th century is probably not the most reliable. It is possible only as part of a complex—coupled with the development of science-intensive sectors of industry, for example. All the conditions exist in Riga for forming a microelectronics complex which could incorporate many enterprises and scientific institutions. Evidently, this course of action will lead us into the future, which would not be the case if we were to rely solely on butter and bacon production. Our produce is not in demand on the world market and so we will not earn hard currency with it. What are we going to use to buy equipment, raw material, and electricity? One personal computer costs the equivalent of 5-10 tonnes of butter, but the needs of the republic's national economy, education, and culture amount to many thousands of computers. The conclusion is simple: there is no point confining ourselves to "subsistence farming"—we must seek out mutually advantageous contacts, help to shape the all-union market, and develop lucrative, progressive spheres of production.

[Litvinova] I caught myself thinking that you, like many other people in this republic, give your opinions on economic, cultural, and political problems without being professionals in the field concerned....

[Alksnis] Is that such a bad thing? Yes, we are amateurs, but the very fact that we attempt to give an opinion on matters that until recently were of little concern to us attests to the high level of democratic transformations in our republic. I personally like the situation. It is another matter that we have no experience in political discussion and in respecting ideas different to our own, or that, at times, methods similar to those used in the past prevail: The idea of "showing approval on command" has been replaced by "voicing censure on command."

[Litvinova] This was particularly apparent after the International Front Congress. The way this new social organization has been labelled!...

[Alksnis] On the one hand, this outburst is understandable: Not all the speeches were distinguished by any particular political sophistication, and emotions often predominated. But I feel sure, nevertheless, that not a great deal divides the members of lower-level organizations in the People's Front and the International Front. Let's take a really simple example. There are groups which support each of the fronts at the Riga Taxi Center. The center switched to a lease contract in January. Do the interests of drivers, mechanics, and engineers from the two fronts coincide? Of course they do. The sooner people in the primary organizations find a common language, the sooner they will be able to solve the problems that have built up. Two fronts against the bureaucracy would really mean business!

People often say now that the International Front is a child of the People's Front. I am sympathetic to many of the proposals in the People's Front program—they are progressive. But it must be clear to everyone that we will only be able to improve the economy, ecology, and education if we pull together. That is why it is so important for the leaders of both fronts to be self-critical. They must be quick to respond to scandalous cases of tactlessness and disrespect, which divide rather than unite people. I thought, for example, that the People's Front Board would not turn a blind eye to something that has angered a great many people: Delegates from the republic to the All-Union Pedagogical Congress did not include a single representative of the 198 Russian teaching collectives, where children of half the Latvian population study. They had been in the running at various stages of the elections. Similarly, the International Front must do its utmost to acquaint its own members with the Latvian culture and language.

[Litvinova] Obviously, the International Front must explain to its supporters why the uncontrolled migration to the republic is so painful to the Latvian people. In a historically short space of time, the number of Latvians in the total population on Latvian territory has fallen to 50 percent. This is unprecedented in the history of the Latvian people.

[Alksnis] Mechanical population growth is fraught with the most diverse problems for any republic and any city: problems in the economy, the social sphere, and culture. And, of course, in the sphere of interethnic relations. The indigenous inhabitants—not only Latvians—are offended, for example, by the fact that they have been forced to live in communal apartments for many years with no prospect of getting a new apartment. On the oter hand, people who arrived in Latvia quite recently are able to moved into new accommodation comparatively quickly.

There is absolutely no doubt that mechanical population growth must be stopped. But primarily by using economic measures. We must not make people responsible for the mistakes of the foolish policy adopted in the past, when departments developed production here without thought or restraint. But some social organizations—the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" and "Helsinki-86," for example—are suggesting "remigration" as a perfectly serious solution: Go back where you came from, they say. Hence the concern felt by some members of the population who have sent letters to the editorial office asking: "Is it true that we are going to be expelled?" The leaders of the two organizations I have just mentioned belong to the Latvian People's Front Duma. In the very center of Riga, on a special stand, you can read their documents, in which Latvia is described in the following terms: "A colony ruled by an administration appointed by the metropolis."

[Litvinova] A recent plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee gave a principled assessment of the actions of the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" and "Helsinki-86." The plenum pointed out that in December last year the leaders of "Helsinki-86" had presented a petition—not for the first time—to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, requesting on behalf of the Latvian people that their struggle against Soviet power in Latvia be given all possible support. The "Movement" regards the Latvian SSR as an illegally formed colonial administrative unit underpinned by occupying Soviet troops. Is any comment needed?

[Alksnis] In their documents the leaders of both "Helsinki-86" and the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" make frequent reference to the Latvian People's Front and its program. What is this—an attempt to exploit the authority of the People's Front? But, in that case, why have we still not heard the leaders of the People's Front give their opinion of these statements? The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum gave a very clear appraisal of the "Helsinki-86" and "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" programs: "For Communists, compromise with views of this kind is impossible; they have absolutely nothing in common with democratization, with socialist pluralism of opinions, or with the very idea of restructuring and renewing socialism." What will be the response of the People's Front Duma and the Communists who are its members? Many people in the republic are waiting to see. One is reluctant to believe that the prevailing view is that expressed by one member of the People's Front Board, who sadly said: "I will never decide to dissociate myself from the 'Movement for the National Independence of Latvia' or from the 'Helsinki-86' group. Whatever people may say about the ultimate aims of these organizations, objectively speaking, the 'Movement for the National Independence of Latvia' is working for the republic's sovereignty, and 'Helsinki-86' is upholding the half-forgotten rights and interests of the Latvian people—the indigenous nation of the republic."

[Litvinova] Are you an optimist, Viktor Imantovich?

[Alksnis] Possibly. As we have been able to see for ourselves, fronts in peacetime are not such a simple matter. But we will not lose our heads. Common sense must prevail and then, maybe, we will see a real consolidation of healthy forces and our fronts will unite. How soon will this come about? I doubt that it will be very soon. So why am I optimistic? It seems that everyone living in the republic supported the slogan under which the Latvian peoples' forum was held at the end of last year: "Latvia is our common home." Like many other people, it is with hope that I repeat each of these words individually: Latvia. Our. Common. Home.

## Voronin Chairs Quake Commission Session 1 Feb

*PM0202111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission: "Relying on the Subcontractor"]

[Text] A detailed analysis of the work to deal with the aftermath of the earthquake in Leninakan, one of Armenia's largest cities, was carried out at a routine working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission conducted by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 1 February.

Emphasizing that the construction of new apartment blocks and buildings must proceed without haste, thoroughly, and in full accordance with the norms and requirements of earthquake-resistant construction, the commission nevertheless criticized the lax work at construction sites in the city. During December and January construction and assembly work amounting to only R32 million was carried out. However, before the year is over R465 million must be put to use.

The pace of construction must be sharply increased to cope with the planned volume of work. This is especially true because everything necessary is available: The powerful resources of many construction ministries and union republics are gathered in Leninakan, the necessary engineering and geological research has been carried out, and the localized microseismic study of construction sites is nearing completion. Another obstacle is poor understanding among subcontractors, who do not always take each other's interests into account. The commission demanded that the creation of a single automated control system for the whole package of rebuilding, construction, and assembly work to restore Leninakan be accelerated.

In the near future the city must be completely cleared of debris and around 2 million cubic meters of building rubble must be removed. The commission pointed to the need to increase the pace of removal and outlined a timetable for completing the full removal of construction debris from neighboring fields in view of the approaching spring planting.

Instances of abuse in the distribution of mobile homes to the city's inhabitants were given a principled assessment. Leninakan gorispolkom has been instructed to conduct this work publicly and openly and to give the public extensive information on the decisions made through the local press.

The commission commented on the long-term plan for the development of the city's trade network, which has no specific deadline agreed on by contractors for the construction of various facilities. Meanwhile the population of Leninakan is growing: Evacuees are returning, and more and more new detachments of construction workers are arriving. Delay in the opening of new stores, canteens, and storage depots could complicate the situation with the population's supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods, and this cannot be tolerated.

The commission examined reports on a number of fires which have occurred at camp sites. Firefighting organs have been instructed to take all necessary measures to prevent such occurrences in the future and have been told to conduct a thorough check of fire safety in all housing not only in Leninakan but throughout the disaster zone.

The commission examined and approved a scheme for the development of rail transport in the republic in the next 2 years. A decision has been adopted which obligates railroad construction workers to ensure that all station expansion work is conducted comprehensively, with the necessary storage facilities and ramps built alongside new tracks and unloading sidings.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the commission's work.

## Gorbachev Thanks Lisbon Charity for Quake Aid

*LD3101232489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2230 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] Lisbon, 1 Feb (TASS)—One of the first organizations in Portugal to extend a helping hand to the Armenian people immediately after the tragic earthquake, was a nongovernmental organization—the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. It allocated about $1 million [currency not specified] for the families of the dead. In connection with this, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Azevedo Perdigao, president of the foundation, a message stating the following:

"Dear Mr Perdigao,

Accept my profound gratitude for your sympathy and the practical assistance which you gave in connection with the disaster which befell the Soviet people, namely the earthquake in Armenia. [Signed] M.S. Gorbachev."

The message was handed on Tuesday to the president of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation at the Soviet Embassy in Portugal.

## Shcherbitskiy Attends Ukraine Presidium Session

*LD0102120289 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0615 GMT 28 Jan 89*

[Text] A Ukranian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held yesterday. Under discussion was the work of the republic's supreme soviet in 1988. A plan also was approved at the session for the activities of the republican supreme soviet and its standing commissions in the first half of this year. The session discussed the decision of the standing commissions on granting Ukrainian the status of a state language while insuring national Russian bilinguism and the functioning and development of the languages of the national minorities living within the borders of the Ukrainian SSR at the same time.

Reports on this issue were delivered by the chairman of the Commissions for Matters of Patriotic and Internationalist Upbringing and for Culture and Education.

The Presidium recognized that the submission of the matter by the commissions was timely and met the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference [words indistinct]. The Presidium charged the Commission for Legislative Proposals to work out—together with the Commissions for Patriotic and Internationalist Upbringing, Internatioanlity Relations, and Culture and Education—proposals on introducing appropriate additions to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and a draft (?language) bill.

Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Central Communist Party Committee, took part in the session.

## Shcherbitskiy Writes on Party Achievements, Tasks

*AU0102092589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 2*

[Article by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary: "Corroborating the Ideas of Restructuring With Practical Deeds"]

[Text] Having marked an important stage in the life and activity of the republic's party organizations, the accountability and election campaign ended on New Year's eve. During the campaign Communists evaluated with precision the results of the restructuring work, and defined what had to be done to implement in practical terms the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. This important campaign was the first to reach such big proportions, to attract the attention of the non-party masses, and to be so widely elucidated by the mass media under the conditions of glasnost.

The topicality, openness, and frankness; adherence to principles in opinions and conclusions; and democratism in preparing and holding them, as well as the forming of elective bodies, made the accountability and election meetings and conferences remarkable for the most part. All this clearly reflected a new situation in the party and society, a situation characteristic of the broadly developed restructuring processes that encompass all spheres of our lives and affect the millions of people and their interests.

We have at present every reason to speak about increased activity by the Communists, about their aspiration to influence the development and pursuit of party policy, and about their deep interest in accelerating the socioeconomic development of labor collectives and their cities and rayons. This is why problems in economic reform, and further development of democracy and glasnost were discussed with particular intensity. People were particularly concerned about problems in housing, provision with foodstuffs and manufactured goods, medical and consumer services, and better working conditions everywhere. And all this sounded like an order given to party and administrative organs, and to economic leaders.

During the campaign, two-thirds of CPSU members and candidate members registered in the republic's party organization took the floor. They could see virtually all the practical problems, and made many sensible and constructive remarks and proposals about these problems. But it must be frankly admitted that there were also meetings and conferences that followed old scenarios, that not all the meetings and conferences managed to escape the framework of habitual schedules and stereotypes and to avoid lapsing into discussions of merely production issues. Now and again, the speakers used the platforms to read dull accountability reports and to criticize in a soft way, and the adopted decision were general and ambiguous.

However, the incurred shortcomings and defects did not affect the main political outcome of the accountability and election campaign. And we can see evidence of this primarily in the fact that the republic's Communists backed the line traced by the party, and expressed the firm resolve to follow it. Now what matters the most is to direct the public and people's labor activity into the channel of concrete deeds. The main criterion of assessing—and this point was particularly emphasized at the January (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum—lies in the real results of creative work.

It is quite obvious that the pace of our progress along all lines of restructuring will be determined by the vigor of basic party organizations in joining in the cause of restructuring. Their persistence and purposefulness are essential everywhere and in everything: in settling both great and durable problems involving political, economic, and spiritual life, and in current routine tasks. It is essential to ensure that all plans are brought to an end.

At this point I would like to mention another practical conclusion that must be drawn from the recent accountability and election campaign. At present it is as important as ever to observe the fundamental party principle: unity between word and deed. It is essential first of all to attend to all critical remarks and proposals made by the Communists, to all decisions adopted.

The significance of this work must not be assessed merely from the point of view of its immediate returns. A word that remains hanging in the air or is merely written down, a word that fails to excite people only feeds passiveness and indifference in their hearts and foments a lack of faith in the possibility of change. On the contrary, when the Communists and non-party members have concrete examples that things ahead and their opinions count, they join in the lives of their party organizations and labor collectives and join in the restructuring processes.

While speaking about democratization in party work, it is essential to note the need to increase the role and prestige of elective organs, and to see to it that they have priority over apparatus affairs. In this respect, the place assigned to party committee commissions for the main sectors of activity is particularly important. For us, from the Central Committee down, this matter is new; we must take it in earnest and with full responsibility, and must not reduce it to a formality and mere procedure.

The point is to urge the commissions to set about studying major crucial problems. Thus the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Commission for the Questions of Organizational Party and Cadre Work has set about examining experience and problems in organizing the selection of CPSU members, in educating party reserves, and in increasing the vanguard role of the Communists in restructuring. The Ideological Commission has taken upon itself the analysis of the work performed by party committees, administrative organs, and public organizations to encourage the spontaneous movement among the working people. Members of the Commission for the Questions of Socioeconomic Development purposefully analyze the progress made in implementing party and government decisions to accelerate the production of consumer goods, develop the sphere of services, and intensify the circulation of cash in the republic. While taking into account the importance of the social reorganization of the village, the Commission for the Questions of the Agro-Industrial Complex studies the work performed by party and administrative organs in this sector. As far as the Commission for Public Law is concerned, it concentrates its attention on carrying out political reform in the republic. Provisions have been made to study the draft laws on amending and supplementing the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, on the election of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, and on elections to local soviets in the Ukrainian SSR.

As we can see, the issues are important and topical indeed. Time will undoubtedly pose new tasks. It is also essential to develop the forms and methods of work performed by the commissions. But the main goal is to ensure that Central Committee members and candidate members more actively participate in the committee's activity, and to make fuller use of their collective experience, competence, and professional skills. A similar process should take place in party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. It is to be borne in mind that skillful utilization of the commissions' potential should help party committees rapidly master political methods of leadership, complete the reorganization of the apparatus, and delineate the functions of party, administrative, and economic organs.

We also evaluate the importance of the recent accountability and election campaign, to a large extent, by the fact that the democratic principles of work among cadres passed a serious test and proved their viability during the campaign. The exacting discussions and collective analysis helped us find out who met the requirements of restructuring and to what extent, and who was able to successfully accomplish restructuring tasks and achieve practical results. Many comrades who corroborated their prestige as recognized leaders and work superintendents in restructuring have been joined in the leadership of party committees and basic party organizations by a large detachment of young promising functionaries.

What concrete measures should thus be taken on the basis of an analysis of the results of the accountability and election campaign? Point one: More attention should be paid and more assistance given to organizations whose elective organs were found to be unsatisfactory in their work, as well as to party committees in whose activity many shortcomings were revealed. Point two: The new cadres need a pertinent and purposeful training with the maximal application of the practical experience accumulated in restructuring. In the current year, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will organize such training for newly elected gorkom and raykom secretaries, and training for the obkom personnel at the qualification improvement department of the Higher Party School in Kiev. Last but not least, functionaries who failed to achieve positive changes in the entrusted sectors should be required to be more exacting.

The vehemence and large proportions of changes taking place are particularly appreciable in ideology, in the sphere of spiritual life. We are witnessing an increasingly active civil position being assumed by people, and increasing interest on the parts of the people in the success of restructuring. The Ukraine's working people actively participated in the discussion on draft laws on amendments and supplements to the country's Constitution, and the election of USSR people's deputies. More than 120,000 collectives and individual citizens made remarks about and proposals concerning these documents. The republic's labor collectives and public organizations have assumed a responsible attitude on the formation of the country's new corps of deputies. They are nominating as candidate deputies the most deserving people who not only warmly support the ideas of restructuring, but also make a personal contribution to practical implementation and have concrete programs for accomplishing immediate tasks.

The forthcoming election will be an important landmark in our society's life, an important step in carrying out political reform. And we must all clearly see that the present election campaign is, on the one hand, a serious test for the political platform set forth in the CPSU Central Committee's appeal to the party and the Soviet people and, on the other, an opportunity to engage new masses in restructuring. At the same time, the electoral campaign is called upon to become a real school to enhance political culture, which is obviously lacking, even among many of our leaders.

We are on the threshold of an important stage—the working people's meetings with their candidate deputies. Party organizations are expected to provide conditions favorable for free exchanges of opinions, for discussing sore problems and criticizing shortcomings, and for examining new interesting ideas and proposals concerning various aspects of life. As noted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in order to comply with these remarks and proposals, it is essential to work in earnest and immediately, now, and not some time in the future.

General attention has now been concentrated on interethnic relations. Progress is undoubtedly to be made by increasingly establishing the Leninist principles, by encouraging union republics to act spontaneously, while also increasing their responsibility for the consolidation and further development of national cultures, and for deepening relations among the latter.

This is precisely the point from which the republic's party organizations proceed. As noted in a recent decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, these organizations have increased their efforts to improve the patriotic and internationalist education of the population. A nihilist attitude to the national heritage is being overcome, and experience in defending internationalist values under conditions of democracy and glasnost is being enriched.

I would like to touch upon the language problem separately. The serious errors in settling it had narrowed the sphere of using the national languages. The situation is gradually changing: Conditions are being created for the harmonious development of native Russian bilingualism, and for active use of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social, political, and cultural life. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is now drafting laws on these issues.

In connection with preparations for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on questions concerning improvements in interethnic relations in our country, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has worked out concrete proposals. They take into account the opinions of party organizations, labor collectives, representatives of the public, creative unions, scientists, and a number of associations that have emerged simultaneously. The range of these proposals is very broad. It encompasses problems concerning legislation, regional economic accountability, ideology, education, science, and culture. We believe that active preparations for the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenums on issues concerning improvements in interethnic relations are a highly important, immediate task for all party committees and organizations in the republic.

The ideological, political, moral, and general education of the younger generation is also to be listed among those tasks that are presently particularly topical in ideological work. Restructuring has significantly invigorated young people and increased their part in settling socioeconomic, historical, cultural, and ecological problems. In my opinion, the republic's Komsomol is quite correct to regard as its allies the many organizational bodies and associations that have simultaneously been formed by young people. This is propitious for uniting young people's efforts and activity, and for constructively channeling these. The education of the younger generation in the republic is also very well served by the activity of the 1,120 clubs for political discussions and the more than 1,000 associations for military and patriotic education, with internationalist ex-combatants setting the tone in the latter.

However, one must not overlook the political childishness, free-ride mentality, and even unsound passions and eroded spiritual ideals that occur among some young people. In view of all this, questions concerning young people's ideological training and moral education must be settled in a pertinent and purposeful way. But let us be frank: Thus far, the returns from the efforts exerted in this sphere by party and Komsomol organizations have been inadequate, mainly because these efforts were for the most part oriented toward the sector of the most active and conscious young people, while it is necessary to reach every young man and woman, and to have an educational influence primarily on those who violate discipline and order, who shun socially useful work, and who lack spiritual direction.

The mass media have proved to be an effective instrument in restructuring and in shaping public opinion in the spirit of the need for restructuring. They have already done a great deal to promote democracy and glasnost, to break the blocking mechanism, and to enhance the ideas and principles of renewal. The critical level of the press has risen in an appreciable way. Items published in the republic-level and local press, in television and radio broadcasts are more and more frequently raising acute problems that arouse people.

There are quite a few examples of an active quest and successful creativity. Yet by now their number should have been significantly larger. Nor must one overlook the annoying miscalculations and errors. They can be avoided when the journalist, the writer, the scientist, all people who have the opportunity to voice their opinions in public are guided by the feeling of great responsibility for the accuracy, truthfulness, and real authenticity of their views. In addition to criticizing shortcomings, the press is called upon to note in time and to actively cultivate the shoots of everything that is new, to spread the best experience in restructuring, and to strengthen its influence on the situation in various fields of the republic's socioeconomic life.

The very idea of restructuring has come to life, has been dictated by solicitude for man. Emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee's appeal, this idea implies the pursuit of an active and purposeful social policy, covers problems as vitally important and topical as food provision, housing, ecology, and saturating the market with high-quality goods. These tasks are complex, and many-sided, and it will take more than 1 or 2 years to accomplish them. But what matters most is to ensure that the things begin to move forward, and that the principle of allocating residual funds and resources to develop the social and cultural sphere, to fulfill ecological tasks sinks into oblivion.

One can state that, in this respect, changes for the better have begun to come to light. In particular, possibilities have been found to increase the scope and improve the structure of capital investments, as well as to redistribute them between the production and the non-production spheres. This has made it possible to exceed the 5-year plan for allocating funds for the construction of houses and facilities for social and cultural purposes. The area of housing put into service in the last 3 years has exceeded the targets set in the 5-year plan by 10.7 million square meters, or by nearly 200,000 apartments. This is as much as the 6-month target set in recent times for the commissioning of housing. The mere fact that the planned volume of housing construction was exceeded has enabled some 900,000 persons to obtain new apartments or otherwise improve their housing conditions. Plans have also been overfulfilled for putting into service new schools, children's preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, and clubs. Definite changes for the better have also taken place in other sectors of the social sphere.

And yet a number of vital problems are still waiting for active and competent intervention, for purposeful and coordinated efforts on the part of party, administrative, and economic organs. It is to be borne in mind that people run up against the social sphere every hour of every day. This is why commonplace and seemingly petty everyday inconveniences may turn into a serious problem when they are not noticed and remedied in time.

It is to be admitted that many enterprise leaders still have not overcome their attitude toward the manufacture of goods and rendering services as being something of minor importance. People justly complain about the assortment and quality of many goods. As is known, the present population's demand for detergents, soap, confectionery, and a number of other necessities is not being met. The republic's Gosplan and State Agro-Industrial Committee did not attach proper importance in time to the growing disproportion between the volumes of products manufactured and sold. And to correct blunders of this kind is now difficult.

Party committees and basic organization bear a large part of the blame for these and other errors and omissions. Many of them lack political feeling and the ability to see the social and moral essence inherent in economic, ecological, and other problems.

The great shortcomings in taking the measures previously drawn up to put in order the trade and the sphere of services were sharply discussed at the most recent plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. Leaders of a number of ministries and departments, as well as of Kiev Gorispolkom were sharply criticized and warned. The Central Committee has obligated leaders of economic and administrative organs and of trade union organizations to do their utmost to reduce the existing shortages and the time lost in lines by the population. The way in which these tasks are accomplished will be monitored very strictly.

What we have in mind in demanding that party committees assume a more active and offensive position in settling social problems is, of course, not their direct intervention in the activity of economic leaders, of economic and technical services, and of production subunits, but their obligation to exert influence through the Communists who are working there, and through lower party organizations.

This also fully applies to party leadership in the economy, which lays the foundations, provides a base for developing the social sphere. In this field, we have also managed to overcome, or at least to curb, many adverse trends. Last year the republic reached the level targeted by the 5-year plan for a number of indexes, and even exceeded a number of targets. These positive results are remarkable primarily because the entire increase in industrial, agricultural, and construction production was achieved by increasing labor productivity. During the last 2 years, the declining trend in the returns from allocations was slowed. An important step has been taken to curb material consumption in communal production: resources saved since the beginning of the 5-year period have exceeded the planned figures 1.6 times, and have exceeded the total saved in the preceding 5-year period.

All this gives weighty evidence of the turn taken in developing the economic reform toward qualitative, intensive factors. The same feature is also becoming increasingly characteristic of the agro-industrial complex. In the 3 years the average annual procurements of meat (in dressed weight) have gone up, compared with the preceding 5-year period, by 500,000 tonnes or 24 percent; and those of milk, by 3 million tonnes, or 21 percent. And last year, which was rather difficult for agriculture, the plans for purchasing grain, sunflower seeds, and all kinds of livestock produce were fulfilled. In recent years, the level of the per-capita consumption of basic foodstuffs has risen somewhat.

Nonetheless, the population's demand, particularly for meat and some dairy products, still has not been met. Concrete measures have been drawn up and are being taken in the republic to further increase food resources by perfecting the management mechanism, by raising the effectiveness of all branches of the agro-industrial complex, and by implementing the comprehensive program for the social reorganization of villages. The number of agricultural combines, firms, and other new formations operating in the republic has already reached a total of 360.

Thus, the action launched to improve the economy and to promote intensive factors in it is undoubtedly moving along an ascending line. But this must not give grounds for complacency. After all, to a large extent economic development is still based on extensive factors. The pace of scientific-technological progress does not meet the present requirements. In the social sphere, the problem of a real improvement in the people's living standards continues to be acute. A great deal still has to be done to provide sufficient commodities and services to meet the level achieved by the population in growing wages and other incomes. It is essential to cardinally improve material and technical supplies, the application of new equipment, and the quality of manufactured goods. But what matters most is to make fuller use of the human factor by closely combining the interests of society, of the collective, and of every worker.

The qualitative novelty of the problems that are being settled in the economic sphere also calls for new attitudes toward the cadres of economic leaders and specialists, and toward the evaluation of their businesslike and organizational abilities. One can quote many examples of the bold, non-standard decisions adopted to increase economic accountability and to better stimulate conscientious and efficient labor. For example, the "Konveyer" production association in Lvov and the "Krasnyy Rezinshchik" in Kiev have opted to raise funds for the self-financing of production by means of issuing shares and distributing profits among the shareholding working people. At the lathe building association in Odessa, a check system applied in settlements within the enterprise has proved to be an effective remedy against excessive prime costs. The "Zarya" agrofirm in Rovno Oblast and the "Pioneer" firm in Austria are creating a large joint enterprise to produce corn seeds.

However, not all people have been engaged in the quest and in the experiments, not all people have proved to be ready to take a justified risk, and this also affects the final results of the work. The number of unprofitable enterprises continues to be large. This is the main reason why the republic needs to find an additional R1.8 billion in the current year to replenish its budget. The grave financial situation of such collectives jeopardizes their operations under conditions of economic accountability and self-financing.

Nor must we overlook the fact that the attitude assumed by some economic leaders and labor collective councils toward the new opportunities granted by law has been clearly dictated by their consumer mentality. At many industrial and construction enterprises, as well as in other spheres of material production, wages have been rising out of step with labor productivity, at times wages have increased much faster than the latter. For us all, including the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, this is a serious point that calls for consideration and appropriate measures. Every ruble should be both earned and provided for.

All this is evidence that, at the first stage of the economic reform, the accelerating mechanism still does not operate at full capacity. But this is caused not, as some people like to think, by problems that are insurmountable. The case is rather that some economic cadres still have not got rid of, and still adhere to, the bureaucratic methods of management by command and pressure, that they are at a loss when confronted with the new tasks, or are even unable to accomplish them by the new methods. Wherever party organizations and local soviets have clearly realized this point and are taking the necessary practical measures, things are going well.

Along the path of restructuring there are and will be difficulties. We should do our best to reduce them and to efficiently eliminate the shortcomings. What we need for this purpose is, first of all, to increase everyone's responsibility for the matter at hand, and to be more enterprising, firm, and consistent in the pursuit of the line set.

The changes for the better taking place in connection with restructuring have aroused great interest all over the world. Our policy to promote the new thinking is winning ever more adherents abroad. In world politics, progress has been made in settling a number of complicated problems and in regulating regional conflicts that had been lingering for a long time. One of the most impressive events of recent times was the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe provided for by a Soviet-American agreement. An international conference held in Paris has opened up prospects of delivering mankind from a chemical war. Also ranking among historic events is the final document approved in Vienna by the participant states that have agreed to continue and develop the process initiated in Helsinki. Cooperation among states with various social systems is developing, and television and radio bridges are being built among them. The initiatives set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session have given a powerful impulse to all these processes. These initiatives have been received with approval and support by our people and by people of good will in all parts of the planet.

Absorbed in their work and creativity, the Soviet Ukraine's working people have met and begun the year 1989 with new strivings and hopes. Aware of the great and responsible work ahead, we should all redouble our energies and persistence in the work to fulfill the plans of the party. After all, this is determinant for the course that our lives will take in the future, and for what there is in store for us tomorrow.

## Ukraine Party Socioeconomic Commission Meets

*AU0102124389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "A Session of a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Commission"]

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Commission for the Questions of Socioeconomic Development recently examined the commission's workplan for the first quarter of 1989. In view of the strained situation that has emerged on the consumer market, the commission resolved to immediately study the progress made in implementing the party and government decisions to accelerate the production of consumer goods, to develop the sphere of services, and to streamline money circulation in the republic.

Concrete instructions were defined for this work. The commission planned to widely enlist the services of scientists, specialists, and public figures to study the situation in the field. Opinions were also exchanged on problems concerning other economic and social development that must be examined by the commission in the current year.

The session was presided over by B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the commission.

## Resurgence of 'National Feelings' In Ukraine

*LD3101110689 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[From the "Dialogue" program, presented by Dmitriy Markov]

[Text] A listener from the United States asks in her letter: Is Ukraine a scene of resurgence of nationalism now, as is happening in other Soviet republics?

Well, I would not call it resurgence of nationalism really, but you are right in one sense that we are seeing the resurgence of national feelings, national consciousness on a greater scale. For instance, there is a pretty strong sentiment for decent economic relationships among the republics and providing them with a greater leeway in economic life and management. And Ukraine is no exception here.

We have a strong environmentalist movement with acknowledgement of national flavor in Ukraine. Of course, such problems find themselves also in the focus of public attention as culture, Ukrainian language, national history and literature, and many other things. They all came out to the forefront since the policy of glasnost and perestroyka began to set roots in Ukraine.

And yet I would say all that is not a manifestation of nationalism, although that we [as heard] are facing serious problems of extreme cases of national expression, I would stick to that line because the resurgence of national feelings among Ukrainians is accompanied by the various similar processes of other nationalities which live in Ukraine as minorities. The policy in this respect provides each nationality with equal chances for development and national renaissance. Well, let us say in the last 2 years we opened 450 centers teaching languages of minorities, created hundreds of cultural-ethnic associations. We started printing newspapers and broadcasting in different languages such as Bulgarian, Greek, Crimean-Tartar and Gagaus languages. Along with this we expand Ukrainian opportunities which are nationally [word indistinct]. The idea is to create harmony for all, and among all. And my guess is that it will produce a situation of a multicultural patchwork quilt for the future, where each nationality within Ukraine, and possibly within the Soviet Union, will not only retain, but also develop their national distinction without stepping on neighbors' toes.

## Belorussian Presidium Discusses Republics' Rights

*LD2801110689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 89*

[Text] [Correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev] The election campaign is underway, and it is showing that we are taking firm and confident steps along the path of democratizing our society and altering our political structure in some regards. In particular the new steps in political reform are of interest.

Our Minsk correspondent, Petr Makritskiy, met with Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich, chairman of the Presidium of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. Let me remind you that Georgiy Stanislovovich Tarazevich is heading a working group on preparing proposals to demarcate the powers of the USSR and the republics. Listen to this recording of the interview.

[Begin Tarazevich recording] Demarcation of the powers of the USSR and the union republics is a multifaceted and complex task. It is connected with the problems of the USSR's nationality and state organization. What is the main problem in this area? It is, above all, the constitutional and legal provisions for an expansion of the rights of union republics and for enhancing the independence and responsibility of the republics in economic, social, and cultural construction, while simultaneously—I want to emphasize—retaining such powers for the USSR that permit it to tackle fundamental questions relating to the life of our country.

The first meeting of our working group, which was held recently, showed the interest of representatives of all republics—the representatives being deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet—in examining the issues that confront our group, above all from the viewpoint of ensuring a strong center and strong republics. The first meeting was organizational in theory, but it was an unusual one. It turned into a free discussion. Practically all the republican representatives spoke. They set out their positions on a number of problems relating to the demarcation of powers. In particular, there was a broad discussion of the problem of demarcating powers in the sphere of the rights of the republics to land, underground resources, and water. The problem of official state languages in the republics was considered, as were matters connected with a demarcation of functions in the economic management sphere; and above all in the social sphere; and the production of consumer goods, where the focus should of course be on republican administration bodies and certain other issues. The positions of the republics were not identical, but it was an interesting discussion. We are now awaiting official proposals from each republic on the problems being studied, and the next meeting will take place in the first half of February. [end recording]

[Bezyayev] Well, the new people's deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to occupy themselves with many problems, including such, you will agree, difficult but very important and interesting ones. We wish them luck.

## Leaders 'Guilty' in Orenburg Gas Works Poisoning

*LD0102120689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] An acute ecological situation has developed in Orenburg. Last year there was an accident at the gas works here which poisoned the population. A commission investigating the causes of the mass poisoning of the people of Orenburg has just completed its work. Journalist Pavel (Rykov) reports.

[Begin (Rykov) recording] There were 76 victims discovered, including 49 children. Twenty-seven were hospitalized, including 23 children aged from 8 to 15 years. Sixteen of those hospitalized were described as being in moderately serious condition. The oblis polkom decided to evacuate the village of (?Muzhichi)-Pavlovka and the attention of the Orenburg gas workers and the Ministry of the Gas Industry was drawn to the fact that they must finally think about people, that we don't exist by the plan and for the plan. Nevertheless, the conclusions were not drawn.

It is not only the specific operators and controllers who are guilty in this situation. Also guilty are the leadership of the Ministry of the Gas Industry: Comrade Chernomyrdin, the minister, and his two immediate deputies took direct part in the construction and commissioning of this installation, knowing fully that it was not equipped with purification units and that this facility would poison people. The oblis polkom decided to immediately destroy the village of (?Muzhichi)-Pavlovka. The village and a whole kolkhoz were destroyed. The people, who occupy almost 400 apartments, moved to Orenburg. But far from all of them moved willingly, because they were leaving their homes, their native village. But they were forced to leave, because it was not possible to live there and watch their children being tormented. The town is now literally agitated by the news that in accordance with a decision by the ministry of the medical and microbiological industry and the planning bodies to try to build a protein vitamin additives combine with a 320,000-tonne capacity right outside the gas works. Despite the protests of the people of Orenburg, despite the protests of the oblis polkom and the party bodies, insistent pressure continues from the union departments to foist this monster on us and to aggravate even further the ecological situation near a big town. I am deeply and firmly convinced that people must be masters of the territory on which they live, and it is essential to ensure in law the position that no department has the right to create industrial monsters which, in the guise of progress, poison everything around them without the people's agreement. This problem must be resolved by the people's deputies, the Supreme Soviet, at the Congress of Soviets without delay, because it can no longer be ignored [end recording]

## Sakharov Addresses 'Memorial' Conference 28 Jan

*PM0102133989 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 2*

[Report by unnamed correspondent: ""To Name All By Name....""]

[Text] The constituent conference of the "Memorial" Society was held in the Moscow Aviation Institute Palace of Culture 28-29 January.

Approximately 500 delegates from more than 100 cities came to Moscow for this conference. After a preliminary discussion, they were to adopt the society's statutes and also discuss the candidates nominated for the board and the auditing commission.

Academician A. Sakharov, honorary chairman of the public council, said in his introductory speech: "We do not seek power, and we are not a political party, but we need statutes with a clear-cut structure to make 'Memorial' a working, independent organization."

Writers—members of the "Memorial" fund's public council—and the conference guests pointed out that the movement brings very different people closer together in their condemnation of Stalinism. It will help, Grigoriy Baklanov said, to win the struggle for the present generation and future generations of young people. Stalinism is tenacious and they must be spiritually ready to deal a rebuff to any manifestation of it.

Yevgeniy Yevtushenko pointed out that civic duty begins with a sense of historical guilt. "In redeeming the present by remembering the past, we also redeem the future—our own and the future of our children's children."

Andrey Voznesenskiy: "The country's further democratization will be the best monument to the 30 million victims."

Vitaliy Korotich: "We do not have the right to cease being vigilant. The return to society of our best minds—Academicians Likhachev and Sakharov—must also mark the return of the ability to remember past tragedies."

Ales Adamovich spoke of the paramount importance of opening up archive sources: "Some 30,000 nameless people were shot at Kuropaty, but the public did not dare to demand a single archive paper. I am sure that, following the creation of 'Memorial,' we should not be indignant but seriously tackle the rectification of the existing situation."

"Memorial" will take an active part in setting up monuments to the victims of repression. In Moscow it is planned to create a memorial complex incorporating a monument to the victims of Stalinism, as well as a scientific information and educational center with generally accessible archives, museum, and library.

Local societies are called upon to do great work. Their organizational and financial independence is enshrined in the statutes.

The public council is "Memorial's" supreme leading organ and monitors the board's work. The board is formed of representatives of local societies and members of "Memorial" and of associations of victims of repression. Regularly convened conferences (the first will be held in 1 year) will define the main areas of activity.

A. Adamovich, Yu. Afanasyev, and Yu. Karyakin were elected cochairmen of the "Memorial" Society's board.

### Cochairmen Elected, Conference Ends

*PM0102154189 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 4*

[M. Zarayev report: "In Memory of Millions. The Constituent Conference of the 'Memorial' Society"]

[Text] Some 500 delegates from 108 of the country's cities, hundreds of guests, and many prominent figures from the sphere of science, culture, and art gathered for the constituent conference of the All-Union "Memorial" Voluntary Historical and Enlightenment Society which was held 28-29 January at the Moscow Aviation Institute's Cultural Center in Moscow.

Just over a year has elapsed since a group of young scientists started collecting signatures to an appeal to erect a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions. During this year the movement has spread throughout the country and acquired large-scale objectives and tasks in the sphere of culture and enlightenment which met with a profound response in people's consciousness.

"In every person there is a desire to pay respect to his forebears," the representative of the Rostov group of the "Memorial" movement said. "Yet millions of people do not know where their parents are buried."

The need to immortalize the memory of the victims of repressions is acute and pressing. However, it is not just a question of sculptures and other commemorative symbols but of a construction of a memorial complex with an archive that would be open to the public, a museum, a library, and a scientific research center.

Enlightenment work is already under way in a number of the country's cities. A Kharkov delegate gave an account of the work of his action group, which unites some 300 members. A file of people who were subjected to repressions is being compiled in the city and soirees devoted to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and exhibitions of documents and other materials are being organized. The movement's activists contribute articles to the press and address meetings at schools, VUZ's, and labor collectives.

Unfortunately, a normal atmosphere for this kind of work does not exist everywhere. Delegates from Alma-Ata, Kiev, Orel, and Chernigov spoke of opposition on the part of local authorities. Members of the "Memorial" movement have been hampered in their search for places where victims of the repressions are buried and in their efforts to organize meetings, and they were subjected to pressure when they sought to attend the constituent conference. All these are manifestations of the old thinking and of the bureaucratic-edict methods of management which have been denounced by the party and the people.

Despite these facts, the movement is becoming an increasingly important component of the process of society's democratization, and it is promoting the unification of various social strata and nationalities. Many speakers referred to this unitary function which distinguishes the "Memorial" movement from many other social initiatives of our time. The whole people suffered under Stalinism. Millions of peasants are buried in mass graves together with workers and representatives of the intelligentsia. This is why the society's objectives are equally close to the son of a kolkhoz member and the daughter of an Army commander. They are united by the desire to prevent a repetition of the past. Only the further democratization of society and the creation of a rule-of-law state can serve as a guarantee that this past will never repeat itself. And the "Memorial" society has set itself the task of contributing in every way to these noble processes which are under way in our country.

The drafting of the conference resolution and the society's statutes and the elections of its leading organs took place in an atmosphere of heated debate marked by high civic activeness. The conference participants sought to ensure that the "Memorial" society becomes a truly democratic social organization. The statutes make provision for extensive rights for local organizations and their independence in spending financial resources, along with the possibility for social institutions to offer assistance on the basis of patronage.

For 2 days—Saturday and Sunday—the halls of the student Cultural Center were seething with passionate discussions from morning until late into the night. In the lobby materials and documents of the movement were on show, reunions of former inmates of Stalin's camps were organized, and a conference for Soviet and foreign journalists was held.

Prof Yu. Afanasyev and writers A. Adamovich and Yu. Karyakin were elected cochairmen of the society.

"Memorial" has been established. Ahead lies much difficult work.

## *Prosecutor on Stalin Victims' Rehabilitation

*WA18000457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*31 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview with Lt Gen of Justice, B. Popov, chief military prosecutor, by I. Rashkovets, honored legal expert of the RSFSR]

[Text] As we know, the CPSU Central Committee recently adopted the decree "On Additional Measures for Restoring Justice to the Victims of the Repressions During the Period of the 1930's-1940's and the Beginning of the 1950's" and also published the corresponding Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 16 January 1989. PRAVDA readers are asking us to discuss how the provisions of these documents are being realized in practice.

On instructions from the editorial staff, I. Rashkovets, honored legal expert of the RSFSR, asked the chief military prosecutor, Lt Gen of Justice B. Popov, to answer a couple of questions.

[Rashkovets] Boris Sergeyevich, the party Central Committee and the Soviet government have more than once addressed questions of rehabilitation of the victims of the repressions during the period of the personality cult. In your opinion, what brought about the adoption of these documents?

[Popov] Briefly, the answer to this question lies in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee decree itself—it calls for complete elimination of the consequences of the illegal acts that took place in past years and the restoration of social justice with respect to victims of the repressions.

At the same time I wish to recall that the beginning of the rehabilitation of the illegally repressed people was designated as early as September 1953 by an Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which granted the USSR Supreme Court the right, in response to protests from the Procurator General, to revise decisions of form boards of the OGPU [United State Political Administration], the NKVD "troika", and the so-called "special conference" under the NKVD-MGB-MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the USSR. This work began to be conducted actively in 1954. During the decade more than 500,000 people were rehabilitated through special jurisdiction cases examined by the military prosecutors. During the first half of the 1960's this practice subsided and soon it practically came to a halt. But life did not stand still. The party course toward democratization and renewal of our society insistently demanded the restoration of historical and sociolegal justice. This is what brought about the new party and government decisions directed toward completion of the work for reviewing criminal cases with respect to parties illegally repressed in the past. It is not difficult to understand that many citizens related to the victims have been waiting for this for many years and are still waiting.

[Rashkovets] It would be useful to remind the readers, if only briefly, of the history of the creation and activity of these nonjudicial agencies.

[Popov] Such agencies have repeatedly been created in our state and their functions have gradually expanded. Thus under the difficult conditions of the postwar destruction, in order to fight against counterrevolution, the Presidium of the USSR TsIK in November 1923 formed the board of the OGPU, under which in March of the following year they created a "special conference" for examining cases related to people who had engaged in counterrevolutionary activity, espionage, contraband, and speculation in currency and gold. It is noteworthy that the decrees of the "special conference" were passed with the mandatory participation of the procurator, who had the right to protest and stop their passage. And as early as 1929 large economic cases and cases of a so-called political nature began to be examined centrally, and subsequently by the local "troikas" as well.

I assume that during the period of the establishment of the young Republic of the Soviets these extraordinary agencies played a certain positive role in the fight against internal and external enemies of the revolution. Subsequently, as known negative tendencies grew in the country, the nonjudicial agencies were completely transformed into a punitive apparatus for repression and arbitrariness. An atmosphere of intolerance, hostility, and suspicion appeared in the country. All this ended up in serious consequences for the society—mass repressions and violations of the law.

[Rashkovets] What were the legal and social consequences of the revocation of the nonjudicial decisions?

[Popov] Revoking these decisions is an important political step directed toward accelerating the process of restoring justice. This is reflected in the improvement of the sociopolitical situation in the country, it raises the authority of the law, and it strengthens the legal guarantees of the citizens. In keeping with the USSR Constitution, as we know, in our country nobody can be declared guilty of committing a crime or subject to criminal punishment without a trial, and it must be in keeping with the law.

According to the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 16 January 1989, through cases under the jurisdiction of the military prosecutor about 25,000 people have been rehabilitated. But, as the Ukase states, this does not apply to traitors to the Homeland, leaders of punitive expeditions, Nazi criminals, falsifiers of criminal cases, or other individuals enumerated in the law. As of today the military prosecutor is to verify the justification for the trials of several tens of thousands of individuals by nonjudicial agencies.

It should be noted that rehabilitated parties are given labor tenure for all of the period during which they were incarcerated, they are assigned pensions, they are reimbursed for the cost of confiscated property, they are given 2 months' wages at their previous place of employment, and other issues are resolved in keeping with existing legislation. Membership in the party and the restoration of honors and special titles and the return of state awards are considered correspondingly.

[Rashkovets] What is being done to accelerate the work of verifying criminal cases regarding the aforementioned individuals and is the experience of rehabilitation of the 1950's-1960's being utilized.

[Popov] There is no doubt that in our work for rehabilitating the victims of the repressions we are taking advantage of the practical experience accumulated during past years, including the methods for verifying criminal cases, searching for archive documents and eyewitness accounts, making historical inquiries, and so forth.

A circumstance of no small importance: recently the number of complaints from people convicted during the years of the Great Patriotic War (traitors to the Homeland, leaders of punitive expeditions, and so forth) has tripled. Taking advantage of today's democracy and glasnost, on the wave of certain demagogic considerations many of them are counting on rehabilitation. The verification of this category of cases requires special attention and, as a rule, involves additional investigation. It is no accident that every fifth individual who requests rehabilitation is denied.

Workers engaged in falsification of criminal cases are also refused rehabilitation. Moreover, for some of them the preliminary investigation of previously closed cases has been resumed.

[Rashkovets] The good names of many who suffered innocently have been restored recently. Where is the guarantee that this sort of thing will not happen again?

[Popov] The guarantee is included in the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU Central Committee, the resolutions of the 19th party conference, the USSR Constitution, and the laws that have been adopted, and also the practical work for creating a truly legal state. This activity is finding support both in the country and abroad.

We shall still have to verify the justification for criminal suits against hundreds of thousands of people through the supervisory military prosecutor's office. From numerous articles the readers already know about the tragic fates of party and state leaders, eminent military leaders, land many communists and nonparty members. In addition to known political figures such as N. I. Bukharin, A. I. Rykov and others, in whose rehabilitation military prosecutors participated, the good names of workers, peasants and Red Army members are also being restored.

One example. Recently as a result of our protest, a former Red Army member I. Dmitriyev, who was awarded four combat medals during the years of the Great Patriotic War, was rehabilitated. He wrote to the Chief Military Prosecutor: "I do not know how to thank you for your just work... I hope that you live in good health for 100 years. Thank you very much."

[Rashkovets] Well, all one can do is join in and affirm these words.

## Ligachev, Others Visit Machine, Ship Ministries

*LD0102051589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] On 30 January Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited the USSR Medium Machine Building and Shipbuilding Industry Ministries.

A thorough critique was carried out of the progress being made in implementing the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "on the creation of modern technological equipment for the food and processing sectors of the agroindustrial complex."

Summing up the examination of the situation in the ministries, Comrades Ligachev, Baklanov, and Belousov stressed the importance of the active participation of all the country's machine building ministries in creating a modern technical base for the food industry.

## Baklanov, Solovyev Tour Production Associations

*PM0102143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Leningrad Visit"]

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.D. Baklanov visited a number of scientific research establishments and production associations in Leningrad 25-28 January.

At the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Production Association the Central Committee secretary learned about the association's work under conditions of economic accountability and self-financing and about how economic incentives influence increased labor productivity and people's work attitude. Measures to speed up the modernization of the production facility intended for the series production of the high-powered K-701M tractor from 1990 were examined in the tractor-assembly shop. Special attention was drawn to production partners' delay in preparation for the production of an economical diesel engine and other subassemblies for the K-701M tractor. O.D. Baklanov inquired about production conditions, workers' labor remuneration, and the organization of catering and consumer services. The attention of the association leadership and the party and trade union organizations was drawn to the need to make greater use of the own-resources method of construction to solve the housing problem. The inadequacy of the efforts to increase consumer goods output was noted. Ways of activating the work of setting up and organizing the production of equipment for processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex were discussed.

At Leningrad's V.I. Lenin Optical Engineering Association the purposeful work to design and organize the production of cameras meeting modern standards and a number of important models of sophisticated medical equipment—endoscopes, opthalmological and other equipment—was rated positively. However, at the assembly shop mass-producing the "LOMO-kompakt" camera the association leaders' attention was drawn to the inadequate technological preparation of production and the low level of mechanization and automation of assembly operations.

At the S.I. Vavilov State Optical Institute there was discussion at a meeting with scientists of questions concerned with research in the field of large optical instrument making, the development of its components, and the creation of new purpose-built telescopes with high functional capabilities.

At Leningrad's "Svetlana" Electronic Instrument Making Association the state of affairs regarding the provision of various kinds of electronics and electrovacuum instruments was examined. The attention of the leadership of the association and party organization was drawn to the need to focus efforts on further developing the status of science-and-production complexes, to complete production construction within a tight schedule in order to bring the association's output up to a qualitatively new technical level, to implement plans in the sphere of housing construction more energetically, and to solve vital social questions. It is also necessary to increase the range of consumer goods and their output and be bolder in selling goods on the international market. Their technical standard makes this feasible.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, and O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were briefed at the Central Scientific Research Institute Named for Academician A.N. Krylov on the results of fundamental research in the sphere of building ships of various kinds and creating effective means of studying the world's oceans, and on other problems of great national economic importance. During conversations with scientists it was noted that there is a need to strengthen ties between science and production, to considerably speed up the introduction of scientific developments into the national economy, to enhance the efficient use of the experimental base, including the development of ties with foreign firms, and to make more active use of computers in scientific research.

On 27 January Yu.F. Solovyev and O.D. Baklanov took part in a citywide rally on Victory Square marking the 45th anniversary of the lifting of the siege of the city and its liberation from enemy blockade; they laid wreaths at the monument.

At meetings held with the leadership, party committee secretaries, and workers of Leningrad scientific research institutes and production associations O.D. Baklanov showed great interest in collectives' participation in the preparation for the USSR Supreme Soviet elections and their contribution to implementing party decisions and developing glasnost and democratization. There was a discussion about party committees' practical work in using political and other effective means to ensure that Communists play an active role at the present stage of restructuring.

Ministers and other senior officials took part in the examination of practical questions concerning the work of Leningrad scientific research institutes and production associations.

## Crime Rate in Moscow 'Alarming'

*LD0102204689 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

A USSR Interior Ministry senior official described work of Moscow militia last year as unsatisfactory.

Lieutenant General Petr Bogdanov, head of Moscow's main Interior Department, told reporters Wednesday that the situation in the capital still is alarming. The number of crimes against persons—murders, robberies and rapes—and crimes against property is growing.

Bogdanov said young people were a source of special concern for militia. The number of crimes committed by young people and teenagers and by groups organised by them increased last year by 65 percent as compared with 1987.

In 1988, the number of registered prostitutes grew by 1,000. Prostitution, the official said, begets other crimes: pimping and racket.

The general said his department has set up a special body to combat organised crime. It will comprise members of the criminal investigation department, bodies combatting economic crimes and traffic militia.

In 1988, bodies investigating economic crimes exposed 6,000 greedy crimes and crimes in public office, mainly in the sphere of trade which is also marked by an increasing number of cases of concealing high demand goods.

On the anti-drink campaign, Bogdanov said 416,000 moonshiners were detained last year.

Militia are making active efforts to combat drug addiction. In 1988, they carried out several operations against drug traffickers.

## Trade Union Bureau Urges Promotion of Disarmament

*LD0102234889 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The Executive Bureau of the Trade Unions International of Public and Allied Employees urges all affiliated organizations and trade unions of public employees to step up their efforts to promote disarmament for development, according to a declaration endorsed at the 39th session of the Executive Bureau which ended here on Wednesday. [1 February]

We call on all trade unions of public and allied employees irrespective of their ideological orientation and international affiliation, the document points out, to enter active dialogue on the main questions of struggle for peace and security, to implement joint actions aimed at significant reduction of military spending, with the aim of using the released resources on economic and social development.

For three days the participants in the session discussed ways of overcoming artificial barriers in the international sectoral trade union movement which hampers effective cooperation.

The concrete task of the current session consisted in discussing the best ways of using the funds released in the process of disarmament for perfecting health care and medical services.

The participants in the session endorsed a statement in connection with the natural calamities in Armenia and Tajikistan, which stresses that "joint efforts to combat the consequences of natural calamities reaffirmed the importance of international solidarity and international cooperation."

## Lapshin on Chernobyl 'Routine', AES Progress

*LD2901124889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1124 GMT 29 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—Staff at the Chernobyl nuclear power station have begun to work a normal routine as was the case prior to the accident in April 1986, Aleksandr Lapshin, deputy USSR minister of atomic power, told a TASS correspondent.

At present, the level of radioactive exposure at the AES does not exceed international medical norms.

The deputy minister recalled that an area of 150 hectares at Chernobyl had been decontaminated and 150,000 cubic meters of radioactive earth removed for burial. About 16 km of roadway and pavement have been reasphalted and concreted. The central streets of the town and its residential and administrative buildings have been fully decontaminated. A reliable covering for the damaged fourth unit of the AES has been constructed.

There are no plans in the foreseeable future to reevacuate the population to the ancient town of Chernobyl soon to celebrate its 800th anniversary. The station's staff and their families are living in the newly built town of Slavutich, situated outside the 30 km zone.

On the prospects for Soviet nuclear power development, Aleksandr Lapshin noted that it will develop. To date, there are 16 AES in operation in the USSR with 45 nuclear reactors with a total installed capacity of 35.4 million kilowatts. By the year 2000, it is planned to bring AES capacity to 100 million kilowatts.

At the same time the Chernobyl accident forced the adoption of serious measures to increase reactor reliability. Soviet scientists have put forward concrete measures to set up a new method of protection [zashchita] and alterations have been made to the design of units in operation with the aim of increasing their reliability and safety.

## Official Urges Modernization of Hydropower Plants

*LD3001094589 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 30 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—Hydro power plants are the only alternative to thermal and nuclear plants in the Soviet Union, according to Boris Kartelev, director of the National Scientific and Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering.

"Thermal power plants will soon become outdated as they consume a great deal of fuel, pollute the air with poisonous gases, dust and ashes, and burn atmospheric oxygen", Kartelev said on Monday in an interview with PRAVDA.

Kartelev considers nuclear power engineering problematic despite experts' optimism. The Soviet Union has slowed down construction of nuclear power plants as they cause many problems, including that of radioactive wastes disposal, he added.

Nevertheless thermal and nuclear power plants predominate in the Soviet Union. "That is why we will have to rapidly build dozens of hydropower plants both in the mountains and in the plains. We won't need huge ones though. Economic facilities and adjacent landscapes must be preserved when constructing the power plants", Kartelev stressed.

The service lives of over thirty per cent of Soviet hydro power plants is expiring. In the next decade they will need modernisation and their equipment will be dismantled.

When modernising, engineers should correct the mistakes made earlier in plant design. "This can be easily achieved technically. For example, we can reduce the water head at a number of hydro plants. Water reservoirs of the Volga hydro plants cascade can be banked, their beds deepened and shallow water barred with dams. Thus we will get back hundreds of thousands of acres of cultivated lands and rehabilitate fishery", Kartelev said.

### Atomic Power Commission Seeks Japanese Aid

*OW2701045089 Tokyo KYODO in English 1141 GMT 26 Jan 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 26 KYODO—The head of the Soviet state committee for the utilization of atomic power announced plans Thursday to shutdown two reactors near earthquake-stricken Armenia and to request Japanese technical cooperation in preventing future earthquake damage to atomic plants.

Aleksandr Protsenko, in Tokyo for an international symposium on atomic energy, told reporters that although the two plants were not damaged in the Armenian quake, making them earthquake resistant was prohibitively costly.

Though the new emphasis on safety and public awareness have raised costs, Protsenko said that Soviet policy still aimed at increasing the production of atomic power.

The Soviet official also confirmed the presence of widespread nuclear contamination resulting from an accident at an atomic weapons facility in the Ural mountains in late 1957.

He added that a report would be released publicly in the near future after the ongoing comprehensive analysis of the accident was completed.

### Illegal Monitoring of Cooperative Activity Halted

*PM3101152989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent G. Shipitko article under the rubric "In the Republic Governments": "Although the Cooperatives Made No Objection"]

[Text]Kirghiz SSR—The Kirghiz Council of Ministers Presidium has assessed the actions of a local authority organ as an attempt at the administrative management of cooperatives. In this case, via the members of the cooperatives themselves.

The Pervomayskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee in Frunze City recently imposed a tax on its cooperatives—it decided that they should pay 1 percent of their income to... the rayispolkom. The first payment amounted to no less than R8,000 plus. So what is this money being used for?

Approximately half of the money is being used to maintain a department on cooperatives and individual labor activity (not formed at the cooperatives' request)—to pay for the wages of six people plus a chauffeur-driven car. It was assumed that this staff would be able to deal with monitoring the activity of the cooperative members, which is illegal in itself.

However, the attempt at this kind of interference in others' business could possibly be explained away as good intentions. But how can one explain the fact that R2,340 of cooperative money has been used for... personal bonuses to supplement the wages of other ispolkom workers? Three deputy chairmen and another 31 workers of lower status have received bonuses of between R10 and R60. It was assumed at a council of ministers session that the chairman himself, D. Rustembekov, had simply not ventured to give himself a bonus.

You may ask: What have the cooperatives been paying the ispolkom for? For no special reason or for some kind of indulgence, for a certain type of oversight by agreement, so to speak? This question was, of course, asked at the council of ministers session, but fortunately only the potential for abuses was discussed.

Nevertheless, the republic's council of ministers still found the practices of the Pervomayskiy ispolkom in conflict with the Law on Cooperatives. D. Rustembekov, chairman of the ispolkom, was severely reprimanded for this. It was proposed that the unlawfully obtained money be returned to the cooperatives. It was decided to abolish the ispolkom department on cooperatives and individual labor activity. And not just in this particular ispolkom but wherever such departments have been established.

A role was also played in this episode by another party—the cooperatives themselves—although it is true that their role remained a very passive one. They were, of course, well aware that the rayispolkom decision was simply illegal, but they kept quiet and surrendered the money without a murmur. Either they did not want a confrontation with the local authority organ or they saw a possible advantage in the situation.

### 'Difficult Future' of Baykul-Amur Railway Viewed

*LD0102000989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today, serious discussion is underway on various levels of the question of the future of the Baykal-Amur railway [BAM]. Here is one of the viewpoints:

[Kovalchuk; identified by caption] According to the forecasts of specialists, in the very near future the Baykal-Amur railway will make it possible to speed up the movement of trains significantly, to the east and west. After all, the BAM is approximately 500-km shorter than the Trans-Siberian. However, no small volume of construction work still must be carried out here, and what is more—and it is important that this is noted—this work is in many ways related to the building of housing, schools, kindergartens, healthcare establishments, engineering communications and with equipping the towns and settlements along the BAM with services and facilities. After all, both today's railwaymen and future generations do not merely have to work here; they live here. The whole paradox of the situation lies merely in the fact that with every new section of the BAM that is put into permanent use, subsidies on the maintenance of the railway increase. After all, its fixed assets are growing, as are its amortization deductions. [video shows general view of railway, workers laying track, housing, then moves on to an interview with the head of the Baykal-Amur railway, V.A. Gorbunov, identified by caption]

[Gorbunov] The Baykal-Amur railway is not just rails, after all. It is a complex, a very complex and large mechanism. It is a larger number of various types of collectives and enterprises which service the railway. They are already engaged in this, although the railway has not yet been completed. And this is the main reason why the railway is not profitable, because we are not yet making use of those fixed assets which have already been commissioned. And yet the BAM is a key position in the Far Eastern program. On fixed assets, the BAM exceeds the Far Eastern, Trans-Baykal and East Siberian railways together. And it is precisely this fact which today determines the railway's unprofitability. But when it spreads its wings, so to speak, and begins to carry freight in the volumes planned, we believe that the railway could by 1991-92 become profitable. And I believe that the claims of certain comrades who say such things as: the BAM is a railway leading nowhere, and the BAM is just a load of rusty tracks are groundless. They should come here and have a look.

[Kovalchuk] It cannot be denied that the BAM has its own, incomparable, and—I would say—very difficult future. Incidentally, it is a future which has not been finally determined. After all, the question of whether the railway named after the Lenin Komsomol is to exist or not on the map of the country as an independent railway has still not yet been decided at the Railways Ministry.

### First Issue of New Magazine RODINA Published

*LD0102232189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] The first issue of the sociopolitical popular-science illustrated magazine RODINA [HOMELAND], a PRAVDA publication, has come out. Through history to the present-day, that is how the editorial office has defined the chief direction of the new magazine. Publications on our country's history as well as articles on the most pressing problems in present-day life, politics, morals and the law have found a place in its pages.

Relations between Lenin and the famous Russian scientist and revolutionary Kropotkin are revealed in an article by Piryumova, doctor of historical sciences, entitled "Letters and Meetings". The reader will also find in the first issue of RODINA the hitherto unpublished diary notes of the writer Abramov, and the history of the creation and destruction of the obelisk of freedom, the first monument of the Great October. An article, "Shot in Smolnyy", examines a version of the murder of Kirov. Strictly speaking they were all put forward as long ago as the thirties but to this day the reasons for and many circumstances relating to this murder are shrouded in secrecy.

For the time being the magazine RODINA will only be sold retail. But right now it is already possible to arrange a subscription to it and receive it delivered to your door from July this year. The index of the publication is 707-98, and the price of the issue is 70 kopecks.

## Economic

### *Use of Defense Resources for Development Debated

*WA1823003089 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 2*

[Article by S. Yelekoyev, sector chief of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Last Trump"]

[Text] "The potential accumulated in the defense complex through the labor and sacrifice of several generations of Soviet people—this is essentially our last trump card in our competition with the West. If we let the right time slip by, tomorrow this card will be taken by a higher trump of some 'tiger' or 'dragon' to come. If we play intelligently, we shall be included in the international division of labor not as poor 'orphan' relatives, but as equals." This is the conclusion reached in a statement in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA by former head designer of one of the large defense enterprises, Yuriy Stepanovich Valkov (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 13 November 1988).

The article evoked a great deal of interest. The authors of the majority of the letters agree with Yu. Valkov, although—and this is natural—they diverge in their evaluation of ways to escape the crisis in which domestic machine building has ended up. We offer one of the polemical responses for the readers' attention.

I read Yu. Valkov's article with a feeling of resentment of power that has become customary. One could understand the author's pain over the pathetic condition of the country's machine tool building industry—which is the production base for machine building. The examples he gave of the rejection of technical innovations, the suffocation of the initiative of creative individuals, and the dispersion and inefficient utilization of resources are typical of any branch of the economy, and there are any number of them.

There is no doubt that Yu. Valkov is right: The immense scientific and production potential of the "defense industry" should be utilized much more effectively in the interests of our development. He is also right in saying that from the defense branches one should obtain primarily those products that they can produce on the basis of their technical equipment, technology, materials, and highly trained work force, and not simply the products we would like to receive from them.

But regarding this major issue—that the defense industry is our last trump card to be used in catching up with the West—I cannot agree with him. In my opinion, neither the enlistment for civilian needs of part of its potential nor any kind of "influence" on the national economy with the existing economic mechanism will do any good.

After all, we have already imported so many licenses, excellent equipment, and batching items! Well, the machine tool builders will receive the high-quality batching items they need. But they will still be held back, sometimes by the poor quality of cast pieces, sometimes by instruments, sometimes lubricants, paints, and lacquers.... And so on ad infinitum.

We have only one example where the technical level of a multitude of associated branches and productions were equalized in a coordinated way and successfully combined into a unified scientific-production complex. Naturally, we are speaking about the space industry. But there is a principle at work here: "We need only victory, and we shall achieve it at any cost." This is unacceptable for widespread application.

Again, the high-quality batching items (control systems, gauges, leads, hydraulic equipment, bearings) for which Yuriy Stepanovich is hoping are achieved at the price of immense expenditures and strict military acceptance. The rank-and-file consumers would simply not be in a position to buy them, for they would transfer the cost of these items to the final product. The excessive increase in the cost of technical equipment for light and food industry products produced in the defense branches has already been reported in the press.

Let us look at the West. For the majority of machine building companies, the products for purely military purposes, as a rule, comprise a couple of percentage points of the overall output volume. They avoid excessive specialization in military products. Why? Because this makes them too dependent on the political market conditions and the decisions of military agencies that place the orders. This means the possibilities for development are limited.

At the same time, partial involvement in the military business is regarded as a good thing. They fight for this, for this is the path to receiving state subsidies for scientific research and experimental design work and acquiring ultramodern equipment. The main thing is that it opens up access to the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. Once you have mastered these, you can use them for your basic production and strengthen your competitive positions.

That is, as distinct from our pyramids, military and civilian products are made with the same production and raw material base, especially in the electronics industry. The requirements for product quality are almost the same.

Further, Yu. Valkov considers convertibility of the ruble to be a most important means of achieving a breakthrough. This provides for expanding competing imports and undermining the monopolistic position of Soviet producers. In principle I agree with him. But one must take into account that it is impossible to introduce convertibility of the ruble by a decree or a one-time action (for example, devaluation). This would be like our practice of writing off the debts of the kolkhozes: The operating conditions are still the same and the situation is being perpetuated irreversibly.

One must assume that convertibility will be the result of a stage-by-stage changeover to a market economy. But certain forms of partial convertibility can—and should!—be introduced even today. In Hungary, for example, currency has been sold to enterprises at the actual exchange rate for a long time. It is possible to arrange [illegible] as they do in Bulgaria, and so forth.

Only as these common problems are solved [illegible] conditions for normal work" be established [illegible] for the survival of socialist producers in a competitive environment. But this is the strategic course. Even if it is strictly and consistently followed, the real results will not be felt soon. But what should be done now, say, in machine tool building?

First of all, it is necessary to get out from under the pressure of planned assignments and reduce production volumes more and more. In developed countries machine building is experiencing a boom, but the supply of machine tools has decreased by one-fourth over the past 10 years, and in some places even by one-third. Our supply of machine tools is twice as large as that of the United States—6 million units. But each year we produce 180,000 (!) metal cutting machine tools and 50,000 forge and press machines. And even this gigantic production does not satisfy the demand.

In other words, it is not a matter of the quantity of machine tools in the country—or even a matter of their quality. It is a matter of who masters them and how they are used. Of course, you cannot obtain good products without excellent machine tools, but the experience of VAZ and KamAZ, which have mainly imported equipment, shows that we have learned quite well how to produce poor products with excellent equipment. So there is no use in satisfying this hypertrophied demand for machine tools. There is a point in stimulating changes in the economy that would lead to a reduction in the demand for them. To put it simply, it is necessary to invest state funds in science-intensive branches: microelectronics, biotechnology, information equipment, and means of communication.... The higher the proportion of these, the less the demand for metal processing equipment.

Almost half of the country's machine tool fleet is outside of machine building, in repair shops of the most diverse enterprises. Increase the reliability of technical equipment and develop firm service everywhere—and the demand for machine tools will drop sharply.

Do precision casting and stamping—and there will be fewer shavings, and fewer machine tools will be needed. Apply new design materials and resource-saving technologies—and the effect will be the same....

The list could go on; the formulas are generally known and even banal. But they are still crucial, for no real strides have been made in any of the aforementioned directions. Why? Because there are no responsible and active figures in the economy who are actually interested in these changes. For up to this point, the only figure in the economy has been the state—all by itself. Competing with itself. So, like any monopolist, it is interested—not in theory, but in practice—in only one thing: making sure that nothing changes.

In conclusion I shall repeat my main point: We have no trump cards, just as we have no quick ways of improving the economy, including, of course, machine tool building. We are faced with a difficult struggle to change the economy over to the principles of socialist competition and to reduce state control of the economy and the defense branches. We have only one chance for success—in accelerated democratization both of social life as a whole and of economic life in particular.

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## Top Officials Discuss Computer Lag Problem

*PM0102114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*31 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Ensuring That Computer Technology Meets Modern Demands"]

[Text] Computer technology is rightly described as the catalyst for scientific and technical progress. During the 12th 5-Year Plan we have mastered the production of supercomputers and launched the mass production of personal computers. The fourth generation of electronic control systems and general-purpose hardware is being developed.

However, the technical level and volume of production of this technology still do not fully meet the growing needs of the economy. These questions were the subject of comprehensive discussion among leading scientists, general designers, specialists, major enterprise directors and party committee secretaries, and economic and party leaders at a conference held at the CPSU Central Committee on 30 January.

Progress in fulfilling the resolutions and programs adopted in the sphere of developing and organizing the production of computer systems, peripherals, contemporary elements, and software was analyzed. It was noted that these questions have begun to be resolved more comprehensively and that the growth rate for the production of computer systems reached 18 percent over the last year. At the same time inaccurate technical policy, insufficient attention to the assimilation of capital investments, and lack of the requisite economic enterprise and scientific boldness are slowing work to eliminate the lag behind the world technical level and are failing to ensure the timely preparation of production capacities for organizing mass production of personal computers and peripherals.

A constructive exchange of opinions took place at the conference, during which concrete measures were outlined aimed at boosting the technical level of developments, ensuring their viability for series production, and reducing the time frame for their introduction into mass production. The need to concentrate academy and VUZ science collectives' and industrial sectors' efforts on effecting a substantial breakthrough in this crucial area of technology over the next few years was noted. The measures outlined will be part of the concept for computerization, which is of exceptionally great significance for the restructuring of the socioeconomic, spiritual, and political life of Soviet society.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, summed up the results of the discussion.

The following took part in the work of the conference: I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; G.I. Marchuk, president of the

USSR Academy of Sciences; O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; N.I. Shimko, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and senior party and economic personnel.

## Greater Republican Economic Independence Urged

*LD3001134089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 1 Dec 88 p 2*

[Article by Candidates of Economic Science Stasys Kropas and Audrius Rudys under the rubric "What Type of Budget Should We Have": "Republic's Economic Independence Problems"]

[Text] More than 70 percent of the national income is redistributed through the USSR budget, a fact that is often considered an advantage of the Soviet economy. Who determines the necessity of an annual budgetary redistribution of almost three-quarters of the country's total labor results?

There are two methods for financing expenditures: economic accountability and budgetary estimates. Their interaction is influenced by economic goals set forth by the state, the level of development, traditions, and other factors. The budgetary estimate type, which was also used to finance the state economy, has predominated since the first years of the establishment of socialism. This practice demonstrated, however, that enterprises try to contribute to the budget the least amount possible, while seeking to receive from it as much as possible. Enormous distribution of capital, especially during the past decades, has become a serious obstacle for the economy. The portion of USSR national income for 1970-86, redistributed through the budget, increased by 17.3 points. A continuously increasing part of production field payments was not earmarked for the improvement of public welfare, but was returned to production. According to data for 1965 furnished by economists, 48 percent of production payments were returned in that fashion, while in 1986 more than 89 percent were returned! This practice, in effect, functioned as follows: Take, through the budget, from those who make a profit, and give to others who have less. This practice has led to a general decline in the state economy. Many articles have been written that correctly attest that the republic neither gives nor receives anything for free; it always buys and sells, unfortunately not always by means of price equivalents. Financial surpluses are redistributed not solely through the budget, but also through other channels (through the social security budget, centralized funds for kolkhoz worker social security and maintenance, redistribution of financial surpluses of enterprises under soviet jurisdiction, etc).

These total over R100 million of the republic's entire economy. Obviously, under conditions of economic independence, this would not suffice to satisfy union needs, but having reached a value equivalency in goods exchanges among the republics, Lithuania would receive additional reserves. Redistribution of financial capital, and an insufficient balance between originating national income and the standard of living do not constitute the only shortcomings in the existing budgetary system. This system was initiated under conditions of administrative command fuctioning of the economy, and it continues to serve it. For this reason, we think, in reorganizing finances a radical change in the USSR budgetary system should be first on the agenda. Currently, basic sources of state income are assigned to the union budget, while the remaining income for the republic state budgets is usually sufficient to cover only a portion of their expenditures. The republic state budgets are balanced by employing deductions from income allotted to the union budget and union budget subsidies. Thus, under the current conditions, it is more important for republics not to produce more income for the state budget within its own territory, but to increase their budgetary expenditures, thereby furnishing proof to the central organs of their necessity and accuracy.

Thus, the volume of funds allocated to the republics for production and the social and cultural areas does not depend as much on work productivity and the level of national income as it does on the authority, adeptness, and personal attributes of republic deputies, who go to Moscow to defend expenditures. In other words, to establish genuine economic independence for the republics one must reorganize the budgetary system. It should be composed of three sections of independent budgets: USSR state (currently—union), union republic state (currently—republic), and local budgets.

The main budgetary income should be allotted to the republic state budget (certain taxes and income from certain state enterprises and property). Every local government organization should also have an independent budget with its own income (remaining taxes and income resulting from enterprises and property located on local government property).

The USSR state budget may have its own income (income from enterprises located on union property, state collection for services rendered by union organizations, duty payments, certain penalties, etc). In addition, union republics should pay from their state budgets certain installment-like payments that would constitute the allotted portion of republic national income. USSR state budget funds would be utilized for administration and defense, to form a union reserve for fundamental scientific research, and to carry out foreign policy activities.

Special funds, formulated along the lines of special taxes of partial participation, should be set up to handle other union and interrepublic level expenditures. Republics would contribute to the special funds from their national budgets and avail themselves of program fulfillment results in proportion to their contributions.

Such relationships between the USSR and the union republic state budgets would be totally compatible with the image of the Soviet Union as a federation of sovereign republics.

The basic portion of the budgetary expenditures would be covered by each one's income. Deficiencies would be covered by loans from the republic state budget, or a higher local budget, which would grant long-term subsidies or discounts from republic payments, in conformity with long-term standards.

This reorganization of the budgetary system would differentiate between the development potential of individual republics and territories, and would make them depend on their production strength development and production effectiveness; it would be, at the same time, in conformity with principles of Lenin's national policy and would encourage them to provide better production conditions and help them erase the dictates of union economic organization control.

Concurrently with the budget, special state funds should be established whose finances would be earmarked for certain purposes strictly designated by law. At the present time environmental protection is especially vital; it would therefore be rational to set up an environmental protection fund, which would supply the means for environmental protection projects on the state level. It would collect voluntary contributions from the population, fees from labor collectives, penalties for polluting the environment, and special deductions for enterprises engaged in technologies harmful to people and the environment.

In managing the republic as well as the local budgets, there should be less stereotyping and more independence in general. First of all, one should abandon trivial regulation of expenditures and provide an opportunity for the soviets themselves to seek out additional funds (lotteries and credit, for example). Without this, it would be difficult to expect soviets, on all levels, to become true managers of their territories and executors of the will of the residents.

### Belorussian Aktiv Notes Plan Fulfillment

*PM0102121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 89 First Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "The Social Facets of the Economy"]

[Text] Minsk, 28 Jan—The utilization of intensive factors and the achievements of science and technology have enabled Belorussia's labor collectives to secure the entire increase in production through increased labor productivity. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan, industry has increased its output 21.4 percent instead of the 14.6 percent set in the plan.

These facts were cited at a meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv that examined the results of the work of industry, construction, transport, trade, and consumer services in 1988 and the tasks of further accelerating socioeconomic development.

The report by V.A. Lepeshkin, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and speeches noted that the plan for commissioning housing, schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, and cultural facilities was overfulfilled. Transport, communications, trade, and consumer services enterprises fulfilled their plans.

The progress is obvious. However, in critically evaluating the achievements, participants in the meeting stressed that negative processes holding back the rate of democratization of the economy and the introduction of new management methods have not yet been fully overcome. There has been no marked improvement in material-technical supply or savings on resources.

The 1989 socialist pledges adopted by the republic's labor collectives define ways of accelerating scientific and technical progress, better meeting the population's needs for foodstuffs and commodities, expanding the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities, and improving the environmental situation.

The meeting was addressed by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

## Military

### Defense Industry Conversion Plans Viewed

*LD0102134489 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

When the Soviet Union urged economic conversion from the manufacture of weapons to disarmament at the UN General Assembly session last December, it accompanied the call with a specific blueprint for action, saying it is prepared to provide the United Nations with its own internal conversion programme and come up with plans for converting two or three defence plants on an experimental basis during 1989.

What should the conversion plan include?

First, it should define alternative products, funding sources, prospects for marketing these products, and requirements for production facilities and starting materials.

Second, it should include recommendations for the structural reorganisation of defence factories and for equipment needed to manufacture the new products.

Third, it should cover issues of retraining personnel released from defence industries and setting them up with jobs elsewhere.

Some Soviet experts believe that conversion plans should be prepared first at factory, regional and industry levels and only then at national level.

The idea is that the staff of each defence plant will draw up a long-term conversion plan and that similar plans will be worked out by local authorities and relevant ministries and state agencies, including the Defence Ministry.

Using these plans as the basis, central economic agencies led by the State Planning Committee Gosplan will then create a balanced national plan in terms of industries and geographical regions, which will be backed up with finances.

Other Soviet experts, however, think it premature to plan conversion in detail at factory level in the absence of a specific international agreement to reduce specific weapons and military hardware.

With scientific and technological progress developing rapidly, any specific plans to switch over to alternative products, reorganise the production setup at a factory and retrain its personnel, they claim, will be quickly outdated and have to be frequently reviewed.

This can, they insist, discredit the very idea of advance conversion planning.

This is why, the experts believe, a national plan should be made first, setting conversion guidelines for each of the defence industries with regard for the national economy's likely needs in the period beyond the conversion years.

As prospects for arms and troop cuts become clearer, it will be expedient to draw up specific plans at local level for retooling specific factories and launching civilian production.

My opinion is that the view held by the second group of experts is more effective and productive. Work in this field, however, is only getting underway and more thorough theoretical and applied research will be needed.

## Reservists Rally Becomes 'Battle' for Uzbek Secretary

*PM2601113589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Captain V. Kovalenko: "Rally of Military Reservists"]

[Text] As already reported in the press, the first republic rally of military reservists, held on the initiative of the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee, has ended. It examined organizational questions and discussed problems concerned with accelerating military-patriotic work with young people in the republic. V.P. Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, could hardly have supposed that instead of delivering a brief report on the activity of military reservists in the republic he would have to "battle away" for almost 2 hours at the rostrum. He was "bombarded" with questions. They were concerned with the fact that a critical moment has arrived in the military reservists' military-patriotic movement, which has now existed in the republic for 3 years. It is impossible to continue on enthusiasm alone. An internationalist serviceman from the Chilanzarskiy Rayon Military-Patriotic Club in Tashkent was the first to ask a question.

"We work until 1700 or 1800 hours at our own enterprises. Then comes the 'second shift'—the club and the youngsters. At work if they don't actually put a rench in the works they nevertheless look at you askance: What do you do down there in the basement? It is time our movement received official status."

"Men, you have certainly misinterpreted me," the speaker answered from the rostrum. "I was talking about work on a voluntary basis. And as for doing it officially? Enroll at the teacher-training institute at the faculty where military instructors are trained."

The fact that this response did not satisfy the rally was immediately clear from the reaction in the hall.

Ye. Vorobyev, chairman of the Zavarshanskiy City Military Reservist Council and holder of the Order of the Red Star, spoke:

"I have been an enthusiast for 3 years now. Without a material base we will go under. Our enthusiasm is constantly running up against bureaucratic brick walls."

"That is not just your problem. The bureaucrat is our common enemy. We have spoken about this at all levels. We need to fight him together. A decision has now been made to recruit internationalist servicemen to the apparatuses of leading organs—the party Central Committee, the republic Komsomol, and the Council of Ministers—so that you have your own representatives there who will pursue your line...."

But the young men did not let up in their pressure. They criticized the republic press and and television for inadequate and sometimes even distorted coverage of military-political education. They asked about perpetuating the memory of the dead, and raised many other problems. Some of them were solved there, on the spot—for instance, the creation of an action group that will carry out an analysis of the problems of military reservists in all regions of the republic. Afghan veteran V. Melnichuk, an instructor at the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee Sports and Mass Defense Work Department, is at its head. V. Anishchev promised to give an answer to the remaining questions and suggestions within 6 weeks.

Many military reservists were surprised during this heated debate that A. Nasyrov, first secretary of the republic Komsomol Central Committee, did not even once attempt to join in the discussion. Did he not dare to, or was there nothing to say?

Yes, the republic youth leader does indeed have quite a few problems.